

THE APPELLATIONS OF THE JEWS (IOUDAIOS, HEBRAIOS,
ISRAEL) IN THE LITERATURE FROM
ALEXANDER TO JUSTINIAN

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ABRAHAM ARAZY

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Approved: Prof. Baruch A. Levine

Baruch A. Levine

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THE APPELLATIONS OF THE JEWS (IOUDAIOS, HEBRAIOS,
ISRAEL) IN THE LITERATURE FROM
ALEXANDER TO JUSTINIAN

VOLUME ONE

From Alexander to Constantine
(332 B.C. - 312 A.D.)

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PREFACE

The English terms "Jew" and "Hebrew" originate from the Greco-Roman appellations of the Jews in the classical literature and in legal documents, Ioudaios and Hebraios. The third name, "Israel," was not used by the Greeks or Romans, and has been transmitted to our generation in its unchanged form, in which it had been used in the literature of the Church Fathers, the New Testament, the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible.

Throughout the twenty centuries of the common era, the three appellations have been and are being used all over the world, in many realms, historical, social, political, legal, to denote the group known as "Jews". The appellation was arbitrarily used by governments, institutions, societies and historians in all ages. This is true for Jews themselves, as well as for non-Jews. We speak, for instance, of the "Hebrew Prophets" (encompassing together under the epithet "Hebrews," persons so distant in time as Nathan, Samuel, Elijah, and Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezechiel, Zachariah and Obadiah), while the Jews call them "nebiei Israel" and not "nebiei ha-Ibrim." We witness the simultaneous usage by English-writing historians of such phrases as: the exodus of the "Hebrews" from Egypt, and that of the "Israelites" from Egypt. Since the French Revolution, Jews and Gentiles, in various coun-

tries, gave expression to this multiform identification of the dispersed Jews, by calling them or their institutions by various names. So, we witness institutions founded by the Jews in various countries bearing such names as: (1) Alliance Israelite Universelle, (2) Israelitische Kultus Gemeinde, (3) The Board of Jewish Deputies, (4) The Jewish Agency for Palestine, (5) Union of Hebrew Congregations, (6) Hebrew Union College, (7) Hebrew Immigrants Aid Society (H.I.A.S.), (8) American Jewish Committee, (9) Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and in Russia, after the Bolshevik Revolution, a Jewish section of the Communist party called "Yev-sektzia."¹

Not only have societies used and are using the three appellations but even peoples and governments use them. From "Ioudaios" we have derivations: "Juif," "Jude," "Żyd," "Jew," "Joudaios," while strangely enough the Jew is identified in Russia as Yevrei,² in Italy as Ebreio, in Greece and Cyprus as Evreios. At the same time, in some European communities Jews are referred to as "Israelite" (especially in France, Switzerland, Germany).

While Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, called his programmatic book Der Judenstadt, the Jews

¹Russian abbreviation of Yevreiskala Sektzia (Jewish Section) [of the Communist Party].

²Russia is the typical example of the dualistic meaning of the two appellations descending from the ancient Hebraios and Ioudaios. While Yevrei has a reputable status, used by the Russians to denote the nationality of the Jews, the other one, Żyd is used only in the derogatory contemptible meaning. A famous slogan of the promoters of the pogroms in Czarist Russia, was: "Biż Żydow, spasyi Rossyiu" ("Kill the Jews and save Russia!").

in 1948, decided to call the newly established state "Israel." There is a paradoxical element in the decisions made with regard to the appellation of individuals, groups and institutions having a bearing on the descendants of the ancient people known in the history as Jews.

The first two decades of this century have witnessed a process of revival of a national movement of the Jews to resettle in Palestine. A curious aspect of this movement is the choice made by various organizations and groups active in the foregoing process, of the name by which they decided to call themselves. The trend which drove them to national revival and regeneration of their past, somehow inspired them to designate most institutions as "Hebrew"--Ivri. This, of course, had nothing to do with the adjective designating the "Hebrew" language, but with a pure and definite emphasis on the nationalistic aspect of the movement. Thus we note (1) a Jewish Legion founded in World War I, called Ha-Gedud ha-Ivri (The Hebrew Legion), (2) a "Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine"--Ha Histadrut ha-Kelalit shel ha-Ovdim ha-'Ivrim be-Eretz Israel (. . . the Hebrew Workers), (3) a Jewish Medical Organization of Palestine--Ha-Histadrut ha-Refuit ha-Ivrit (The Hebrew Medical Organization) and so on. Moreover, a campaign by the Jewish Trade Unions directed at persuading Jewish employers to engage Jewish laborers in their enterprises instead of Arabs, was conducted under the slogan avodah ivrith. In all above instances the term "Jewish" was dropped in favor of "Hebrew." This phenomenon is an unequivocal

expression of the Romantic trend which inspired the decision of the leaders of the revival movement.

We may certainly ask, did their choice of "Hebrew" have historical grounds and justification? Why not Yehudi-- Jewish? and why in 1948 is "Israel" the expression of this revival?

The essence of the problem is, therefore, to try and identify the historical reasons why such or other appellation was used, by whom, and in what circumstances. We shall then proceed to examine the changes in those appellations during the existence of the Roman Empire, until their final crystallized concepts have been absorbed by the Christian Church, after Justinian's death. The forms in which these appellations have survived to our own days is not in the scope of our work, but our conclusions will enlighten their historical formation.

From the aforesaid it becomes clear that the appellation of the Jews in various periods and countries were more due to subjective judgments of certain authorities, societies and sectors, or, to emotional grounds due to political situations. In looking back to the period we propose to examine, an observer will surprisingly find that similar causes may be attributed to Josephus' identifying himself as Hebraios in ca. 74 C.E., St. Paul's usage "a Hebrew of Hebrews," Philo's admiration of "Israel", R. Akiba's admiration of Israel, and on the other hand, the contemptuous usage of Ioudaios by Eusebius or Justinian.

The search of the reasons for the expression of such sentiments, which do not always represent a personal view, but, on the contrary, are in many cases the reflection of the feeling of the people in the speakers' time, is the purpose of our study. The three original appellations of a relatively small people on the shores of Palestine, playing a very minor role in the political fabric of the Hellenistic and Roman empires assumed a tri-polar form and grew into prominence as a result of the two colossal historical events of the first century of the Common Era: the advent of Christianity and the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple by the Romans.

The growth of the Jewish Diaspora and the rise of Christianity to the status of a state religion added to the acuteness of the problem of the identification of the Jews by themselves and by the peoples among whom they were dwelling. The tradition of the applicability of a particular appellation of the Jews, as individuals, in a given society, or in the state law, is an outgrowth of that period, and therefore, an analysis of the literature ending with Justinian's death is sufficient to provide the basic reasons and aspects of the tri-polar appellation of the Jews in antiquity. The motives behind the usage of each appellation have by that time been crystallized finally. Our own contemporary society's motives, it will be found, are not always identical with the ancient ones.

The literary texts of the period, when examined carefully shed enough light on the subject and enable us to

understand the nature of the tri-polar appellation of the Jews as they emerged after Justinian's death.

The way in which the intricacies of the problem could best be presented was one of the most difficult considerations. I most appreciatively acknowledge the guidance of my teacher Professor Baruch A. Levine and his constructive criticism, which helped me to present this work in its present form. No less have various suggestions by Professors F. E. Peters and L. Schiffman contributed to the extension of the field of investigation into certain areas, and the treatment of two subjects in special Excursuses. I alone, however, bear the responsibility for the failures or deficiencies of the work submitted.

1. ABBREVIATIONS

- ANF - Ante-Nicene Fathers (Series)
N P N F - Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers (Series)
F O T C - Fathers of the Church (Series)
L C L - Loeb Classical Library

Talmud and Midrashim - in accordance with the list given by H. L. Strack in his book Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, 1972, p. xiii

2. MODE OF CITATION

a. English citation from the Hebrew Bible are made from the edition of the Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia (except for the rendering of יהודי -Yehudi, which is preserved in its Hebrew form)

b. English citation from Talmud and Midrashim are my own translation, unless the English source is indicated.

c. Greek citations:

- 1) New Testament, from Nestle's Novum Test. Graece
- 2) Other texts, from L C L.
- 3) Septuagint, from A. Rhalfs edition, 1935

3. Names of historical personages or places are cited as they are given in the particular source of citation. Thus Bar Kokhba may also appear as Bar Cocheba, etc.

INTRODUCTION

ON APPELLATIONS OF PEOPLES IN ANTIQUITY

A. Classification of Appellations

Appellations of peoples in Antiquity can be classified in two main groups: Locative or Gentilic (Tribal). Both invariably are based on one of the following geographical or demographical elements:

1. Locative

- a. Name of a city, e.g., Babylonians, Romans, Athenians, Spartans.
- b. Name of a region, e.g., Ionians, Lacedaemonians, Idumaeans, Samaritans, Judaeans.
- c. Name of a Land, e.g., Egyptians, Syrians, Parthians, Macedonians.

2. Gentilic

- a. Name of a wide range of tribes, e.g., Amorites, Arabs, Arameans, Graeci, Hebrews.
- b. Name related to a community or polity of a peculiar cultural tradition, e.g., Hellenes (Hellas), Israel.

Appellations of peoples were not always monoforn. A name given to a people by another was not accepted universally; on the contrary, many a people had different names in the mouth and literature of another. The Greeks who called themselves Hellenes, were called by the Romans Graeci and by the

Jews: Yevanim (similar in sound to "Ionians"). The Canaanites were called Φοινίκι (Phoenicians) by the Greeks, Punici by the Romans. The Arameans, a people master of an independent kingdom from the tenth to the seventh century B.C., were called by the Septuagint, without exception, Syrians (Συριοι).¹

On the other hand, the Syrians, the immediate northern neighbors of Palestine, are called by Herodotus Syroi² and so they are also called by other Greek-writing authors in the Seleucid period, while in Jewish literature their designation is different. The traditions relating to the Hasmoneans' fight for independence against the Seleucids have left us in the Talmud an appellation of the latter: יוֹנִיִּם = Greeks. "Nicanor was one of the Greek generals--" אֶחָד מֵאֶפְרָכִי יוֹנִיִּם קִיָּה says a Baraitha in tractate Taanit 18b. But in the Septuagint Nicanor is identified only as the commander of the armies of Syria (I Macc. 7:39). Nor are any of the Seleucids ever referred to by the LXX as Greeks.

¹

Gen. 25:20, *passim*.

The translation was done in the third century B.C. The translator's opinion was, apparently, that the readers would better understand an appellation "Syrians" than "Arameans," although even in his times, the "Syrians" were speaking Aramaic. The LXX's approach indicates that a name of a language is not necessarily linked to the appellation of the people using it. While the Bible (Rav-Shaké incident, and the Book of Ezra) calls it "Aramaic," Philo calls it "Chaldaic" (χαλδαϊστὴν). For the LXX, the Syrians did not speak a language called "Syrian" just as the Judaeans and the Jew in the Diaspora did not speak "Judaean." The severance of the name of the languages the Jews spoke from their appellation as a nation is an important point in our examination, in particular of the term Ἑβραῖον, used by Ben Sira's grandson and in the New Testament writings, as well as by Josephus.

²Herodotus, The Histories Bk.II, 105. L C L, 1926.

Appellations of nations had therefore, in some cases, more than one form. What was proper, clear and well defined for one people was not acceptable to another. It would appear therefore, that appellations of peoples are also different, depending on the agent of usage and of its direction: internal or external usage.

B. Internal and External Usage

Appellations of Peoples are of two different natures:

1. Internal usage, i.e., addressing the people within its own constituency, both individually and collectively. Such usage is--in modern times as well as in Antiquity--made by leaders of nations on solemn historical occasions or in the case of dramatic appeals to a people. An appeal to the Frenchmen by the leaders of the French Revolution in 1772 started with "Français!" Similarly, an appeal by Charles de Gaulle to his people in 1939, exhorting them to continue the struggle against Germany, was addressed to "Français!" However, this example immediately shows that such an appellation is not used in inter-human relations within the same nation. No Frenchman "A" would address his fellow man "B" by the appellation Français. Notwithstanding what we said, one must admit that on the public governmental level such a usage can be made in order to set special rules for the purpose of making a distinction between rights of nationals in contradistinction to foreigners.

2. External usage, i.e., appellation of a nation, a

people, or an individual of such people by a name in the language of the speaker. In modern times, the Germans, for instance, are called by the Frenchmen "Les Allemands," by the Polish "Niemcy," by the Swiss "Deutsche."

The internal usage is an expression of the true national name of a people, for it appeals to the concept of spiritual and national unity and the traditions and mission of the nation.

This thesis is also supported by another usage in Antiquity, namely, by Pericles in his dramatic funeral oration at the height of the Peloponnesian war, when he addressed them emotionally "We Athenians. . . ." ³

The opposite is the case with the external usage: it is a term coined by other people and governments to identify groups, people, and individual members of such groups, such names--in some cases--having no similarity at all to the name of that nation, and sometimes, the reasons of such an appellation is known to the appellants only. So, for instance, "Niemcy" in Polish means an unspeaking dumb mute people (who do not speak Polish...). "German", or "Allemand" is very dissimilar from Deutsche. In other words, while the "internal usage" expresses the name of the nation in its history and literature, the "external usage" is a term of identification used by outsiders.

This classification is important in order to make an

³Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, translated by Gowley (New York: The Modern Library, 1951), p. 54. Underlining, mine.

analogy with the appellations of the Jews in Antiquity.

It is easy to see from the Biblical, Mishnaic and Talmudic literature, that the appellation "Israel" is the nation's name in "internal usage." Beginning with Moses' "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is One" (Deut. 6:1) and his other exhortations in the same style (Deut. 5:1, 9:1, 27:9), ending with his blessing "ashrekha Israel" (Deut. 33:29), passing to the solemn appeals made by the prophets when addressing the people pathetically, and proceeding with Ezra's emotional prayers in 457 B.C. in Jerusalem, "Israel" is the national-internal appellation. The High Priest in his service in the temple of Jerusalem on the solemn Day of Atonement, emotionally prays for his people Israel. After the destruction of the temple nothing has changed in the status of this appellation. Rabbi Akiba in his elation exclaims (using Moses' words in Deut. 33:29): . . . אֲשֶׁרִיךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִי כְמוֹךָ עַם . . . נוֹשֵׁא בְהִ' . . . "Ashreikhem Israel",⁴ (Blessed are you, O Israel)! . . . This testifies to the preservation of this appellation in various critical historical experiences of the Jewish people in a basically unchanged meaning.

The other two appellations have never in the history of the Jewish people, in the period of our examinations, achieved such a status. They must unconditionally be classified as appellations of external usage by other peoples, writers, and institutions, to identify the Jews. Hebraios

אֲשֶׁרִיכֶם יִשְׂרָאֵל, לִפְנֵי אֵי אַתֶּם מֵאֲהָרִים, לִפְנֵי אֲבִיכֶם שְׁבֻשָּׁאִים! 4

and Ioudaios are therefore external identification means.

These are two primary postulates which are posed by us at this stage. It will be our aim, in the course of the examination of the literary sources, to verify their validity.

C. Some Parallels Between the Origins of Appellations of Greeks and Jews

Historians have in Antiquity always tried to retrace the origins of the appellation of their peoples. Before we proceed to the particular case of the appellation of the Jews, it will be very useful to quote the famous historian of Antiquity, Thucidides, author of The Peloponnesian War. Speaking of Hellas, from which the Greeks derive their Greek name Hellenes (Ἑλλήνες), he says:

Before the Trojan war there is no indication of any common action in Hellas, nor indeed the universal prevalence of the name; on the contrary, before the time of Hellen, son of Deucalion, no such appellation existed, but the country went by the names of the different tribes. . . . It was not until Hellen and his sons grew strong in Phthiotis, and were invited as allies into the other cities, that one by one they gradually acquired the name of Hellenes; . . . the best proof of this is furnished by Homer . . . he nowhere calls all of them by this name, except the followers of Achilles, who were the original Hellenes. In his poems, they are called Danaans, Argives and Achaeans. . . .⁵

This testimony speaks for itself. It is sufficient for us to make the transposition of Thucidides' argument to the area of the origins of the names "Hebrews" and "Israel," and replace the name of Hellen alternately by Abraham and

⁵Thucidides, op. cit., pp. 4-5. Emphasis mine.

Jacob, and we would obtain the following important statements:

1. Case of "Hebrews": "Before the time of Abraham, son of Terah who migrated from Haran to Canaan, no such appellation existed . . . they gradually acquired the name of "Hebrews". . . ."6

2. Case of "Israel": "Before the time of Jacob, grandson of Abraham, no such appellation existed. . . . It was not until the times when Jacob and his sons grew strong . . . that one by one they gradually acquired the name of 'Israel'."7

Naturally the pace of evolution in the acquisition of the three appellations, Hellenes, Hebrews, Israelites, was different and each of them stretches over different periods of time in history. At the base of the difference is a number of factors of material, spiritual and political nature. However, one fact is striking in its similarity in the histories of the two people, namely, both had a name for their country which represented something more than a physical land of residence. The name that united them was thought of as a symbol of the superiority of their national and spiritual values over those of their neighbors: Hellas over the barbarians, Israel over the "Goyim." And so says Pericles in 428 B.C. at the height of the Peloponnesian War, after having praised the values handed over to his generation by the

⁶ As an appellation given to them by the local population.

⁷ As an appellation preferred by themselves.

ancestors (Ib., p. 103), and appealing for their endurance for the sake of the glory of Hellas: "In short, I say that as a city, we are the school of Hellas." Athenians are, therefore, but one constituent of the many peoples that make up Hellas. By analogy, Judaeans, Galileans, and others, including, to be sure, those in the diasporas of Babylon, Egypt, et alia, are the constituent elements that make up the polity of Israel.

When Pericles addressed his people in 428 B.C., in Judea, on the other side of the Mediterranean shores, it was the period of Ezra-Nehemiah. Both of them used the same exalting and laudatory expressions for the concept of "Israel" as a people outstanding among their neighbors. (Ezra 9, 10, Neh. 9), the Goyim, the Amei-ha Aratzoth. The particularistic ideas of these leaders are not different in substance from those of Pericles.

D. The Jewish Appellations

Of the three present appellations of the Jewish people, two derive from the Greek form handed down to us by the Septuagint: Ἰσραήλ, Ἰουδαίος. The third, "Israel," originates in the Hebrew Bible. Their Hebrew forms are יִשְׂרָאֵל, יְהוּדִי.

The origin of the term יִשְׂרָאֵל goes back to the Patriarchal age, while the other term, יְהוּדִי, appears in Biblical literature, both in Hebrew and Aramaic (the book of Daniel), only in a limited number of occasions.

According to Biblical sources, the name Israel was given to Jacob by an angel (Gen. 32:29). "Your name shall be no more Jacob, but Israel, because you strove with God and with men and you prevailed." It became the eponym of the twelve tribes.

As to their classification, Hebraios falls in group A(2a) and Israel in A(2b). Only for the name Ioudaios-Judaeen do we have testimony from non-Biblical sources on the derivation of this name from the land Judaea. Josephus, writing some time in 84 A.D.⁸ states:

This name (Ioudaioi) by which they have been called from the time they went up from Babylon, is derived from the tribe of Judah; as this tribe was the first to come to those parts, both the people themselves, and the country have taken their name from it.

(Jew. Ant., XI, 173)

A non-Jewish source testifies to the same concept in the milieu of the non-Jewish peoples: Clearchus of Soli, writing in 300 B.C., states:

They are called . . . by the Syrians: Ioudaioi, taking this name from the region. For the place which they inhabit is called Judaea. Their city has a remarkable odd name: Hierusaleme.⁹

All three appellations underwent a process of evolution and change in their meanings from their inception down to the first century of the Common Era. It seems, however,

⁸Josephus, Works in 9 Volumes, Loeb Classical Library, Harvard 19 ; his writing started in 72 A.D. with the Jewish War. The Jewish Antiquities appeared in 93-94 A.D., Contra Apionem in 94 A.D., and The Life in ca. 100 A.D. (See Introduction to the Life, p. xi, re. dates.)

⁹Quoted by Josephus, Contra Apionem, I, 179.

that the problem of choosing the most appropriate appellation for the identification of Jews was drastically posed in the first century C.E. by the two great events of history that then took place: (1) the advent of Christianity, (2) the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

E. Problems and Scope of Study

1. Historical Aspects of the Problem

After the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., Josephus, who earlier as the Commanding Officer of the armed forces of Galilee, surrendered in 69 A.D. to Vespasian, settled in Rome where in 72 A.D. he wrote his first work, The Jewish War.¹⁰ Surprisingly enough, he introduced himself--while presenting his credentials to his non-Jewish readers in the Oikoumene--not as a Ioudaios, but saying: "I, Josephus, son of Matthias, a Hebrew by race, (γενεῖ Ἑβραῖος), a native of Jerusalem and a priest. . . ."¹¹

In doing so, Josephus clearly asked his readers in the Roman Empire and elsewhere in the Oikoumene, to distinguish between the term Ioudaios, which was applicable to the nation that rose up in arms against the Romans, and a vague term, "Hebrew," which applies to one's ancestry or descent.

Why would Josephus need an additional identification "Hebraios" to the public? The war against the Romans lasted from

¹⁰See note 8 above.

¹¹The War, Book I, 3. L C L Emphasis mine.

66-70 A.D. and ended with the destruction of the Jewish armed forces. Josephus surrendered to Vespasian. He surely was not an unknown person. On the contrary, he occupied a prominent place in the headquarters of Vespasian and Titus. As to the people who fought the Romans, they were known all over the world to be the Ioudaioi, and Commander Josephus was one of them. Despite his action of desertion of his army and his people, Josephus in his writings strongly identified himself as a Jew, and proclaimed his solidarity with the Jewish nation.¹² Therefore, to find out three years after the destruction of Jerusalem and the independent Jewish nation that he was no more the well known Ioudaios but something else, "a Hebrew by descent," must have been a result of long and serious reflections on his part with regard to the question: "And now, who are you, Josephus?"

Was the problem Josephus faced in 72 A.D. a single expression of the search for a new identity, or was it a problem faced by masses of Jews in Palestine and the Diaspora? Once the Jews were stripped by the Romans completely of all aspects of national independence, what new meaning did the old term Ioudaios acquire in the new circumstances? This question could probably have been answered in a different way

¹²The War, op. cit., Book I (4), 10, p. 7. (1) "I cannot conceal my sentiments . . . to bewail my country's misfortunes." (2) Book VI, p. 407: ". . . never may I live to become so abject a captive as to abuse my race." (3) Contr. Ap., I, 1, p. 163: ". . . to instruct all who desire to know the truth concerning the antiquity of our race."

by the Jews who chose to go in the new path set forth by Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai in Jamnia than by the new secessionist Judeo-Christians, the Nazarenes (also called the Minim). For the latter, the term Ioudaios had lost not only its national value but also its religious meaning. They consorted now with people originating from Gentile nations and felt a closer affinity to them rather than to the Jews of the "Old Testament."

It will be shown in the succeeding chapters¹³ that the Pagan world at the turn of the first century A.D. had very vague ideas of who the "Hebrews" were and how they related to the contemporary Ioudaioi. But, more importantly, their extant literature does not seem to indicate that they ever heard of an appellation "Israel." However, after 70 A.D. this term became the cardinal term used by the reorganizers of the Jewish institutions. All sayings and teachings emanating from the mouths of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai or Rabbi Akiba are related to a people called Israel. Judaea as a country was lost and the name Ioudaios denigrated but the Rabbis kept the spirit of the people high. "Israel" became the symbol of dignity. Expressions such as "נֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל" --the light of Israel (said on R. Johanan's death), "הָלוּאֵי" --"may many like you multiply in Israel" (Rabban Gamaliel), or "אֲשֶׁרֵיכֶם יִשְׂרָאֵל" --"Blessed are you Israel. . . ." said by Rabbi Akiba, have in them the

¹³See Chapter Three, the non-Jewish sector, pp. 81ff.

ingredients of national pride and dignity. Moreover, this appellation was used not only for spiritual and moral expression but became the legal term to designate the Jews in the Mishnaic and Talmudic codification.

At the same time the new offspring of Israel, the young Christian Church, proclaimed itself to be the continuator of the concept of Israel as preached by the prophets. In the writings of the New Testament and of the Early Church, Israel is spoken of with great affection, but the term is related to an "Israel" of the past and not to the contemporary Jews.

2. Contemporary Aspect of the Problem

The scholarly study of the history of the Jewish people, the Old and New Testaments, is unavoidably facing the problem of making an appropriate distinction and choice in the usage of the terms "Jew," "Judaean," and "Hebrew." As to "Israel," most scholars refer to it only as a spiritual concept linked to the ancient people "Israel." But all hit the difficulty of even an approximate delineation of the area and the period in which a term can appropriately be positioned.

To be more precise, when historians and Biblical scholars say "Hebrew Prophets," which is a general term for the prophets beginning with Moses,¹⁴ Deborah, Samuel down to

¹⁴ Although the nature of the prophecy of Moses, Deborah, Samuel, and that of the Prophets, e.g., Isaiah or Malachi, is very different, the common appellation (in Hebrew) of all of them as "a Prophet in Israel" (נביא בישראל), is well attested by Deut. 34:10: "וְלֹא קָם עוֹד בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל נָבִיא כָמוֹהוּ" = "and there never arose in Israel a Prophet like Moses."

3. Scope of Study

The purpose of our study is the definition of the periods and delineation of the areas of the usages of the three appellations. We shall debate these aspects and phases through analysis of the usage of the three terms in the literature pertaining to the subject. Up to the advent of Alexander, the sources available are only in the Hebrew language: the Bible. From the time when Palestine became part of the Hellenistic world, a literature grew up also in Greek. The Septuagint started in the third century with the Pentateuch only and grew to comprise the Greek text of the whole of the canonized Old Testament, as well as part of the Apocryphal literature.²⁰ Greek authors, historians, philosophers and geographers are referring to Jews and their country, from Aristotle through the famous geographer of the second century A.D., Pausanias. Philo and Josephus have left major voluminous works with information on the Jews. Latin writers, although scantier in their references to Jews, nevertheless can be helpful to our study. In the Jewish sector, a literature grew up in the period of the Second Temple, namely, certain apocryphal books, Ben Sira, and the books of sects, written in languages current in that time, Hebrew, Aramaic or

19b. cont'd.

(emphasis mine)

The confusion is outstanding in both works, and the terms have no clear historical relevant value!

²⁰On the relation of the Apocrypha to the Septuagint, see Chapter Three, pp. 120-26 ff.

Greek. Finally, the magna opera of the "Post-70 A.D." generations, the Mishnah and Talmud.

Christian literature, beginning with the New Testament and followed by the works of the Church Fathers, is another source of information for our study.

The sources are vast. A preliminary survey of the material shows, however, that we can beneficially limit the period of our investigation to two historical dates: from Alexander, 334 B.C. to Justinian's death in 567 A.D.

4. Limits of the Period of Examination

The two dates that we have chosen for the limits in which to examine the problem are suitable for its study for the following reasons:

a. The advent of Alexander, 334 B.C., is only approximately a century and a half away from the authorship of the last Minor Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, Obadiah, and the termination of prophecy in Israel. On the other hand, the dispersion of the Jews in the Hellenistic Oikoumenē starts. Aristotle, Alexander's teacher, is the first known Greek author to have left to us some written testimony on the contemporary Jew. Furthermore, Ptolemaic and Seleucid kings, as testified to by the various writings of the Hellenistic period, e.g., the Letter of Aristeas, the Books of the Maccabees, etc., had to deal with the Jews living in their own midst, and in Palestine, both in the political realm as well as in the legal. Decrees issued by the Ptolemies, as well as by Antiochus the Great or his descendants, were referring to

the Ioudaioi, and this appellation became popular among the peoples of the Oikoumene as well as in usage by Greek writers, historians, geographers, and others.

b. Justinian, the Byzantine emperor who died in 567 A.D. has contributed to the subject of the appellation of the Jews by his famous Codex Justinianus and the Novellae, as extensively discussed in Juster's book Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain.²¹ Procopius, his biographer, is the last of the Greek-writing authors in the 6th Cent. to mention the Jews in his works. He closes our list of non-Jewish authors, both Greek-writing and Latin-writing, who wrote about Jews, used various appellations to designate them, explained to their readers the origin of the Jews, their cult and customs, and also expressed personal views and sentiments towards them and their "strange" religion. Among them were the anti-Jewish writers such as Apion, who have in turn produced an apologetic literature (as Contra Apionem by Josephus).²³

In addition, Justinian's death is also a suitable

²¹ Jean Juster, Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain (Paris: 1914), 2 vols.

²² Procopius of Caesarea, The Wars, The Secret History, Buildings. L.C.L. 1965. He is Justinian's biographer and had accompanied his generals in his wars, in Italy, etc.

²³ Although Apion is the chief villain in this book (Cont. Ap.), Josephus' decision to write it, after having lived twenty years in Rome, testifies to the deep penetration of the anti-Jewish literature in the Roman intellectual circles. For some acrimonious expressions, e.g., Seneca's "the accursed race," etc., see Chapter Three, p. 109.

date for the termination of the study of the Jews in the "post-70 A.D." period. The Talmud and most of the early Midrashim were already completed.

We can therefore, with a great measure of certainty, assume that we have encompassed all the important literary sources in the period between 330 B.C. to 570 A.D., a period of 900 years, when the meanings of the three appellations were crystallized for usage by the various interested parties.

Our analysis will show, indeed, that the usages crystallized differently in each sector: the Jewish people (in Palestine and the Dispersion), the Christian Church, the Roman and Byzantine states.

5. Phases, Delineation, Periods and Trends.

a. Phases of Usage

A preliminary review of the periods of usage of the three appellations points to the peculiar nature of their existence. We are faced with a pattern of usage characterized basically by a cycle: birth-usage-disuse, leading to extinction and possible revival.

The four phases of usage can be defined as follows:

- (1) Formative, i.e., the inception of the appellation and its usage in an early historical period.
- (2) Static, i.e., stable popular usage over a certain period.
- (3) Extinctive, i.e., cessation of usage and tendency to extinction in a certain sector.

(4) Revival, i.e., reusage of an appellation in a certain sector.

Despite the differences in duration or continuity of the phases, the basic nature of the cycle is common to all three appellations. Only the measure of their attestation in a given literature is different.

b. Delineation According to Sectors of Usage

A systematic examination of the phases of usage of the appellations and their duration, to be effective, has to be conducted in a three way delineation:

- (1) The historical periods
- (2) The sectors: Jewish, Christian, Pagan
- (3) The literature: Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek

and Latin

c. Historical Periods

The study of the subject cannot be done within strictly divided historical periods. The impact of great historical events on the usage of the appellations was of unlike magnitude, and its effects stretched beyond arbitrarily drawn periodic lines.

The changes in attitudes were not always a continuous process, and in many cases were abrupt. However, a loose division of periods for convenient reference may be made thus:

- (1) Biblical period, from the Patriarchs to Ezra-Nehemiah, ca. 430 B.C.
- (2) From Alexander, 330 B.C., to the destruction of the Temple, 70 A.D.

(3) From 70 A.D. to the Edict of Constantine,
312 C.E.

(4) From 312 C.E. to the death of Justinian
567 C.E.

Within each period convenient subperiods may be delineated, as applicable to each sector, or usage, and expression in literature. Between (1) and (2) there is an "interim period" of 100 years in which some exterior literature will be examined.

d. Trends

The change of usage of an appellation in the same sector or in an inter-sectorial plane is due to trends, the origin of which stem from great spiritual or political events. They are the generating cause of the transitions made (e.g., Hadrianic persecutions and identity-hiding of Jews), from usage of one to another appellation.

F. Schematic Presentations of the Cycles in the Usage of the Three Appellations

1. Hebrew--עברית--Hebraios

a. Formative phase--in the Patriarchal period, as evident from the Book of Genesis. (18th to 16th centuries B.C.)²⁴

²⁴(a) Albright, *Bibl. Period*, op. cit., p. 3, "between the 20th and 16th centuries B.C." (b) Cyrus Gordon, *The Ancient Near East* (New York: 1965), p. 43: "This brings us to the traditions of the first Hebrew [Abram] about 1400 B.C." Gordon's placement is very late. Among other modern scholars, the prevalent view held is that of ca. 1800 B.C.; see for instance: (c) Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq* (London: 1972), p. 215: "This move [from Haran to Canaan] must have taken place

b. Static phase--in all probability ends with the Exodus, ca. 1240 B.C.²⁵ The last to use this appellation are Moses and Aaron in Egypt before the Exodus.

c. Extinctive phase--started with the sojourn of the Israelites in the desert of Sinai. In the Jewish sector was never revived except in a few restricted usages in literature. In the non-Jewish sector, attested usage by the Philistines in the periods of Samuel-Saul-David.

d. Revival phase--in the Jewish sector, in certain Apocryphal books of the Hellenistic Period. In the Christian sector, in the New Testament and the Church Fathers' writings. In the Pagan sector, in the writings of the second century A.D. In the secular governmental sector, in Justinian's time.

2. Judaeon -- יְהוּדָי -- Ioudaios

a. Formative phase--attested already in Jeremiah's²⁶ time and given full expression in the Books of Ezra-Nehemiah, Haggai and Zachariah.²⁷ This phase takes place in the sixth century B.C. in Judea, Babylonia and

about 1850, or a little later. (d) R. De Vaux: "Les Patriarches hebreux et les decouvertes modernes," Revue Biblique, 56 (1949), 5-36 is leaning towards a date between the 18th and 16th centuries.

²⁵Gordon, *The Anc. N.E.*, op. cit., pp. 143-44: "The end of the reign of Ramses II (died 1234) marks approximately the period of the Exodus." This dating is agreed to by most scholars.

²⁶See Chapter One, p. 60, *infra*.

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 62-64, *infra*.

Syria (Abar Nahara).

b. Static phase--in the Jewish sector, from the Persian period down to Justinian's rule; it coexists with the other appellation, Israel. In the Greek and Latin writers' sector--both in the Jewish, pagan and Christian--usage for identification of Judaeans in Palestine and Jews in the Diaspora.

c. Extinctive phase--"Yehudi" did not have a definite extinctive phase. In the Jewish literature, it is tending towards extinction due to the supercedence of the term Israel. In the other sectors such a phase did not occur.

d. Revival phase is not applicable to the period of our investigation. However, the usage of the term "Jew" among Jewish communities in modern times is a phase of revival in that sector alone.

3. Israel

a. Formative phase--from the Exodus, ca. 1240 B.C. to the end of the period of the Judges, ca. 1040 B.C., say, a period of 200 years.

b. Static Period

(1) In the Jewish sector, from David to Justinian, well attested to in the literature of all kinds.

(2) In the non-Jewish sector, never existed in the Pagans' knowledge. In the Christian sector, never used in practical terms.

c. Extinctive phase--in the Jewish sector, never occurred in the period of our investigation. However, its concept changed from a normal country-based people to a com-

munity bound by common traditions which originated in ancient Israel. The extinctive phase applies in this case to the concept "Israel" as the people of David and that of the Prophets in the pre-Exilic period.

d. Revival phase--from our postulate in (c) above, it ensues that the appellation Israel had different revivals in the era of the Second Commonwealth and after:

- (1) a revival in Ezra's time.
- (2) a revival in the Hasmoneans' time.
- (3) a revival in R. Johanan b. Zakkai's time.
- (4) a revival in the sector of the Christian Church, for which it is simultaneously the inceptive phase.

As can be seen, the usages of the three appellations of the Jews in modern times are in no way links in a chain of a continuous process of evolutions in the history of the Jewish people but have rather been adopted by this or that sector out of considerations of modern convenience and are unrelated to their meaning in the static phase.

G. Methods and Procedures

The formative phases of all three appellations start --as we have seen--in the Biblical period. The period we have chosen for our investigation is for most of them the phase of maturation. One cannot well analyze the transformations, transitions, and changes of meanings they underwent, and the trends and approaches of writers and leaders, which affected their evolution, without a preliminary analysis of their inceptive phase. We have, therefore, first of all, to

proceed and give the Biblical background of the three appellations.

The method of our research is analytical and comparative. Most of the sources we shall use are primary sources, or, in the case of ancient Greek writers, if the work was lost, fragments cited by later writers. Comparisons will be made of a prevalent usage in a given period in a given area or, in a national, religious, social and political sector. Our supporting evidence from the Bible or Talmud must necessarily be given in its original language, and this in consideration of the technical aspects of the problem.

While we deal with a subject which in English is contemporarily called "Jews," the term "Jew" or "Jewish" becomes in our work only a technical tool--albeit convenient to a certain degree--a substitute for the terms used in the above defined period in the literature of that time, written in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin.

An important point must be made with regard to the aspect of translation of the three terms by modern scholars. It is not unusual to find that many translators of Hebrew and Aramaic literature of the post-Biblical period do not make a distinction between the terms "Hebrew," "Israel," "Yehudi," and render all terms as "Jew."²⁸ Our investigation, however,

²⁸(a) The Bible of the Jew. Pub. Soc. of America, Philadelphia, for instance, translates "Yehudi" in Jeremiah's time "Jews" (sic!), e.g., Jer. 41:3.

(b) Jacob Neusner, Development of a Legend (Leiden: 1970), p. 65: In the Aggada on R. Johanan b. Zakkai and the

having for its object the determination of the limits of the areas where such and no other usage was considered by the authors to be appropriate, is looking into such subtle distinctions with a view of exposing the various factors which caused a specific usage.

Having posed this problem, it will be understood why the nature of our study requires, in most cases, to quote the appellations in their original forms.

In addition to the literature listed in Section H below, we shall also investigate the appellations appearing on coins and epigraphic material known from archeological excavations.

H. Literary Sources

The main literary sources used in our investigation comprise the following corpuses and works:

1. The Hebrew Bible²⁹

a. References to Abraham Haibri, to Joseph, to the Hebrew midwives, to Pharaoh and the God of the Hebrews, etc.

young girl (Mekhilta on Jethro), the original word 'Ibrit' is misleadingly translated into "Jewish." The Mishna translations in English present similar inaccurate renderings, e.g., Order Nezikin (Jud. Press N.Y. 1963. Transl. by Ph. Blackman, p. 474, Ab. Zarah, 4:12: "אבל אם ירצה ישראל להוציא" is rendered: "But if the Jew desire to remove it . . .", similarly 5:3, 5:7. But in the same Tractate, 2:6, for instance, "חלב שתלבו עובד" is rendered: "milk that an idolater milked, but no Israelite watched him." (underlining mine)

²⁹Quotations from the Bible have been generally made from the J.P.S. of America's text except for the term "יהודי" of which the rendering "Jew" is unacceptable in the context of this thesis.

b. The usage of "Hebrew" in the Period of the Judges--Samuel, Saul, the Philistines.

c. The term "a Hebrew slave."

d. The usage of the term Yehudi in II Kings, Jeremiah, Nehemiah, Zachariah, Esther.

e. The character of the usage of the term Israel in the Pentateuch, Prophets and Haglographa.

2. The Septuagint.³⁰ From its presentation to the Greek-reading public in Egypt in the third century B.C. until its becoming the official text of the Holy Scriptures for the Christian Church, Jew and non-Jew alike read it and studied it. Although in the cases of the early Old Testament texts, the rendering of the appellations is faithful to the original Hebrew, in the case of the later translations and those books of the Apocrypha included in the Septuagint Corpus, the three appellations reflect the views of the authors and their age on the Jews.

3. The Apocrypha.³¹ These books, on the original language and authorship of which scholars have different opinions, contain much information from which certain deductions can be made as to the circumstance and reason why עברי ,

³⁰(a) Greek text: Septuaginta, edited by Alfred Rahlfs (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt: 1935), 2 vols. (b) English text: The New English Bible with the Apocrypha (Oxford: Univ. Press, 1970).

³¹(a) Greek text, as in 30 above; (b) English text, also above; (c) Hebrew text: A. Kahana, Ha-sepharim ha-hitzoniim, op. cit.; (d) Charles, R.H., The Apocrypha and Pseudoepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford: 1965).

יִשְׂרָאֵל, יְהוּדִי, ~~or~~ Hebraios, Ioudaios, Israel, were used by a particular author. The examination was conducted in parallel in the Hebrew and Greek texts as listed in our bibliography.

4. The New Testament.³² The four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles are an invaluable source of information with regard to the appellation of the Jews in Palestine and the Roman Empire in the first century A.D. We find in them all three terms used simultaneously, although not by all authors. The study of this text has been made in the Greek edition of Nestle. It is followed up by examination of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers.

5. Philo.³³ As the Jewish Hellenistic Philosopher living in the first century A.D., some of his works may be seen as reflecting the usage of the three terms by the Hellenized Jews in Alexandria. On the other hand, being a philosopher of great renown in the Hellenistic world, his notions about the Hebrews and Israel were diffused among the intelligent readers of his period and after. Philo's usage, himself, of these terms are the more important since the Church Fathers and, in particular, Eusebius, present him in their books as "the honorable Hebraios." We find in Philo's works all three usages. In addition to the works in which he discussed the Bible, of special interest are his two works De

³²Greek text: Nestle-Aland, Novum Testamentum Graece (London: 1973). English texts: (a) as in 30 (b); (b) The New Testament in Modern English, J. B. Phillips (New York: Macmillan, 1966).

³³Philo's Works, L C L, (Harvard University Press: 1962), X vols; translated by F. H. Colson.

Legatione ad Galum and Contra Flaccum, in which the misfortunes of Alexandrian Jews are told.

6. Josephus.³⁴ As a historian of the Jewish people until the fall of Jerusalem, his words, The Jewish War, Jewish Antiquities and Contra Apionem, are another valuable source of information of the usage of the three terms Ioudaios, Hebraios, Israel.

7. The Mishnah, Six Orders. Codified by R. Judah ha-Nasi at the turn of the second century A.D. They are an inexhaustible source of information on the mutual relations between the Jews and their surrounding neighbors. The term "Jew" in its relation to such terms are "Goy", "Nokhri", "Kuti", "Akum", etc.

8. The Talmud. Both the Babylonian and the Palestinian contain -- in the realm of the three appellations--more interesting material, in addition to that found already in the Mishnah. In addition, many haggadot, incidents in which Jews and non-Jews take part, some of them with historical background, and some of other character, social, ethical or civil, are a basic material to our study and the drawing of conclusions relative to our problem.

9. The Midrashim. They, just as the Talmud, are important to our study for the innumerable haggadot they contain, many in the form of dialogues, from which it can be concluded, who, when, in what circumstances, used the terms

34. See Note 8 above. All three books in LCL edition.

under our study. We have, though, limited ourselves only to those Midrashim which are believed by most scholars to be compiled not later than the end of the sixth century, i.e.: M. Genesis Rabba, Leviticus Rabba, Lamentation Rabbathi, Mekhilta de R. Ishmael, Sifre and Sifra.³⁵

10. The Dead Sea Scrolls³⁶ in their various editions in Hebrew. Most of them contain references to Israel only. So also, other finds in the Judean desert (Massadah, Wadi Murabaat, Nahal Hever) related to our study.

11. Eusebius.³⁷ His work, Ecclesiastical History, written in ca. 325 A.D., is as far as we are concerned in our research, a landmark in the crystallization of the different meanings of the terms Ioudaios and Hebraios by the Christian Church. The two volumes have been carefully examined.

12. The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Abrev ANF.) This collection of the writings of the Church Fathers of the second and third centuries is the most important for our investigation of the early Church Literature.

³⁵ Midrash Genesis Raba, edited by J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck, 3 vols, second edition (Jerusalem: 1965); M. Leviticus Raba, edited by M. Margalioth (Jerusalem: 1970), 3 vols.; Mekhilta de R. Ishmael, edited by Horowitz-Rabin (Jerusalem: 1970); Mekhilta de R. Shim'on Bar Yohai, ed. by Wahrman (Jerusalem: 1960); Siphre on Deuteronomy; Siphre Zuta on Numbers. Sifra on Leviticus. The last three works in standard editions.

³⁶ Jacob Licht, Megilath Ha-serakhim (Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1965); Yigael Yadin, Megilath Milhemeth Benei Or Bi-Benei Hoshekh (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1967); Yigael Yadin and Chaim Rabin, Mehkarim Ba-Megiloth Ha-genuzoth (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1961); Yigael Yadin, Bar-Kokhba (English) (New York: Random House, 1971) Barthelemy and Milik, Discoveries of the Judean Desert (Oxford: 1961).

³⁷ Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, L C L, 1929, 2 vols.

13. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. The English editions of their writings is collected in two series of fourteen volumes each, the first series edited by Scribner in 1886-89 (abbreviated by us as NPNF); the second, also by Scribner (1890-1908) is designated as "Second Series" (abbreviated as NPNF 2nd Ser.). All twenty-eight volumes have been examined in the area of our investigation, and invaluable information relative to the problem has been drawn from the writers until the end of the sixth century.

14. The Fathers of the Church Series (1947-1969) by an Editorial Board (abbreviated FOTC). Certain works that appear in this Series and were not found in NPNF were examined for the sake of completeness.

15. Jean Juster.³⁸ Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain. This book is most valuable for the appraisal of the terms Ioudaios and Hebraios as expressed in the various legal documents of the period, both by the State and the Christian Church authorities.

16. Theodor Reinach.³⁹ Texts d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains, relatifs au Judaïsme. This book is a valuable catalogue and compendium of the excerpts from the works of the writers in the period of our interest, both in the Greek and Latin languages.

³⁸ See note 21.

³⁹ Theodor Reinach, Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme (Hildesheim: 1963).

17. Menachem Stern.⁴⁰ Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism. This recent book, edited and published in Jerusalem under the auspices of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, although it covers mostly the texts quoted by Reinach, contains additional texts, examined in respect to our subject of study.

18. A series of additional books, by ancient and modern writers, is listed in our bibliography. They were used for the study of the general historical background of our problem.

I have called all the foregoing works "Literature" and have proceeded to a systematic examination in order to extract from them all the statements that may afford information bearing on our problem--the three appellations of the Jews.

My study does not include the investigation of Syriac literature. This is due to the conviction that my present proficiency in reading Syriac texts would hamper me in my progress in such a time-limited project as a Ph.D. dissertation is. The difficulty in the provision of such texts was another factor to skip this part of Literature. I feel convinced, though, that the subject is well covered by the sources I have used in all other literature of the period. Most works were examined in their original language except for ANF, NPNF, and FOTC listed above.

⁴⁰ Menachem Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism (Jerusalem: 1976) (Greek texts with English translation), Volume One only published, From Herodotus to Plutarch.

It would be rash to say that the collection of passages contained in this work is exhaustive or is the best. The number of passages of importance in the literary sources I have used is so vast that one can never be sure that some passage of interest and importance has been overlooked. But my aim was always to gather the most representative material; though it should not be quite complete, it will yet suffice to throw light upon our points of interest.

CHAPTER ONE

THE BIBLICAL BACKGROUND OF THE THREE
APPELLATIONS OF THE JEWS

The three appellations of the Jews all originate in the Bible. Literary criticism of the Bible was advanced considerably since Wellhausen, at the turn of the twentieth century. His theories on the various strata of the Pentateuch, however, caused scholarly debates on the historicity of the Biblical stories. But these doubts were dispelled in the early decades of our century with the massive evidence of archeological digs in Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Egypt. Allbright, the famous Biblical scholar and archeologist, sums up the unwavering belief in the historicity of the Biblical stories in the following terms:

Until recently it was fashionable among Biblical historians to treat the Patriarchal sagas of Genesis as though they were artificial creations of Israelite scribes. . . . Archeological discoveries since 1925 have changed all this. . . . there is scarcely a single Biblical historian who has not been impressed by the rapid accumulation of data supporting the substantial historicity of the patriarchal tradition.¹

The appellation Hebrew-Ibri starts with the patriarch Abraham (Gen. 14:13), whom scholars place some time between

¹The Biblical Period, op. cit., pp. 1, 2. The words were written in July, 1962.

the nineteenth and sixteenth century (Albright, Cyrus Gordon).² The existence of the tribes or groups called "Habiru," whom both scholars link--in various degrees--to the ancestors of the Jewish people, the "Hebrews," is inconsequential to our study. Most scholars agree that the Exodus took place in the middle of the thirteenth century.³ It would appear from the Biblical records, that the probable period of the active appellation of the pre-Israelite people as "Hebrews" extends only from the eighteenth century to the thirteenth century B.C., a period for which we have very little historical knowledge about the life and activity of those tribes in Palestine.

Moses is the first on record to break away from the usage of "Hebrews" by calling the nation which emerged in the desert of Sinai by the name Israel. Although the symbolic change of the appellation of the Hebrew tribes to "Israel" was attributed by the author of Genesis to Jacob, a third generation of Abraham, it took five centuries to implement this change, and it necessitated a great national crisis, an Exodus from an oppressing country and the receiving of a new Law in the desert of Sinai in order to effect this change and substitute the appellation "Israel" for "Hebrew."

Apparently, the appellation "Hebrew" was still maintained for some time by the neighbors of the Israelites in

²See note 24, Introduction.

³See note 25, Introduction.

Canaan.⁴ But it ceased absolutely in the Israelite sector. Only the term "Hebrew slave" used in the Law of the Covenant (Ex.21:2) survived from that period and transcended into the Talmudic literature.

Joshua, the Judges and Samuel follow in his steps; Samuel anoints Saul as King of "his people Israel" (I Sam. 15:1), and after his death, the tribes of Israel see in David a King over Israel (II Sam. 5:3). Although the land over which David reigned had no defined borders, and foreign peoples lived in cities situated among the Israelites, the title bestowed upon him, already in its inception, indicated that "Israel" is something different than a name of a geographical zone; he was to be the king of a people called Israel, although it was not residing in a contiguously linked territory. This concept was to be extended in the later periods of Jewish history to embrace the Jews of the Dispersion, in all corners of the Oikoumenē and the Roman Empire. Both sectors of the Jewish people, that, residing in the national homeland and the other who lived away from it in the Dispersion, constituted equal elements of a same polity called by the Jews: Israel.

The Babylonian Exile and Return occurred in an age when mighty empires rose and fell and the national identities in the Near East had crystallized in a more definite form than heretofore; the Jews as well were given a name by the Babylonians

⁴ See Harry M. Orlinsky, Ancient Israel (New York: Cornell University Press, 1954), p. 20, for discussion of the Habiru-Hebrew and Canaanite relationship.

and Persians linking their nationality to the region of their last independent kingdom--Judaea--and were called "Judaeans"⁵ (in Hebrew יהודים, Aramaic יְהוּדֵאִין).⁶ But even this appellation has a limited usage among the reconstructed Jewish community in Judea, as evidenced by its paucity in the Books of the last Minor Prophets. The appellation "Israel" strongly emerges from the Books of Ezra-Nehemiah and sets the tone for the nature and meaning of the usage made by the "Men of the Great Assembly" and the leaders of the civil and legal institutions of the Second Commonwealth. In the culminating period of the Judaeon state, the term Israel becomes a symbol of the spiritual elevation of the people and of the solidarity and unity of destination of its national and Diasporal components.

The Evolution of the Appellations

1. Hebrew-Ibri

The usages made by the authors of the Biblical books are 37 in number and they can be divided in three groups:

- a. narrative, and/or in a form appearing to be handed down by an oral tradition, e.g., Gen. 14:13, 40:11.
- b. non-Hebrews speaking disparagingly of the Hebrews, e.g., Gen. 39:17, I Sam. 4:9.

⁵Josephus, *Jew. Ant.*, op. cit., Book XI, 173; Clearchus of Soli apud Josephus, *Cont. Ap.*, op. cit., I, 179.

⁶Ezra 4:12, 5:1, etc.; Daniel 3:8, 12, etc.; The Elephantine Papyri. See Chap. Three, "The Antecedent Pre-Alexandrian Literature (iv)."

- c. factual usage, e.g., Ex. 2:11, 5:3, I Sam. 13:3.
- d. legal term relating to slaves, e.g., Ex. 21:2, Deut. 15:12, Jer. 34:9.

As soon as Moses ushered in the formative phase of the appellation Israel, the extinctive phase of the appellation Ibri began. The rise of the former and the decline of the latter were two processes running contemporaneously in opposite directions.

The processus run by Ibri reached its final extinction after David vanquished the Philistines. The other one, that run by "Israel," ended in David's time its formative phase and was ushered into its "static phase" by the glorious and stable period of David's and Solomon's Kingdoms. The Prophets, the Psalmist, and all other writers and glorifiers of the people named Israel essentially refer to the glorious period of Israel under David's reign. The adoration of Israel by the Christian Church also draws from the same period.

The short-lived appellation of "Hebrew" with the Jewish nation and the speedy absolute extinction of the term, the lack of interest on the part of the Jewish sages for that appellation, the absence of any reference to it by Ben-Sira in his chapter, "Praise of Our Fathers,"⁷ and the unaffectionate approach of the Midrash and Talmud to the appellation "Abram

⁷Sefer Ben-Sira ha-shalem, edited by M. Z. Segal (Jerusalem: n.d.). Chapter 44:1 to 50:36. Ben-Sira's adoration is only for "Israel."

the Hebrew"⁸ are very conspicuous signs. They indicate an absolute indifference to its origins and *raison d'etre*, which is hard to explain, unless we are ready to link this phenomenon with the bad reputation which the Habiru--whose name was similar to 'Ibri--had with the peoples of the Near East. But as we have stated, we shall abstain from discussing the relationship of the two names or the effect Habiru might have had in the extinction of 'Ibri."⁹ We shall, then, review the literary sources and let them speak for themselves.

W. F. Albright, dealing with the origins of ancient peoples in the Near East and those of the Hebrews, says: "Hebrew national tradition excels all others in its clear picture of tribal and family origins."¹⁰ Without going into discussion of the relation of "Hebrew" to the "Habiru" tribes in Palestine, we can say, indeed, that the credentials of Abraham the "Hebrew" (Gen. 14:13) are very clear. His family lived in southern Babylonia ("Ur in the Land of the Chaldae-

⁸Conspicuous in the comment, that 'Ibri symbolizes only his being on the "other side" of the Idolatrous World.

... כל העולם מעבר אחד והוא מעבר שני. (Mekh. de R. Shim'eon Bar Yohai, op. cit., p. 112)

⁹The possible link between the Habiru tribes and the Hebrews is widely admitted by modern scholars, among them, Albright, Cyrus Gordon, Georges Roux, Theophile J. Meek, and recently by the Italian researcher in Semitics S. Moscati, in a book entitled The Semites in Ancient History, to which we shall return in a further note. Harry Orlinsky is another adherent to this theory (see note 4).

¹⁰Bibl. Period, op. cit., p. 1.

ans"), and at Haran and Nahor in northern Mesopotamia. According to the Biblical sources (Gen. 12:1), his departure from his native land to the new land "across the river," was on Divine instruction, thus tying the crossing of the Euphrates to the origin of the formation of the new people called for some time "the Hebrews." In the literary sources we find different attitudes to the term "Hebrew". The Biblical genealogical traditions ties the meaning of "Hebrew" to the descent of Abraham from Eber (Gen. 11:17-26). This is also the approach of Josephus who writes: "...Heber (עֵבֶר), after whom the Jews were originally called Hebrews." (ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Ἑβραίους ἀρχήθεν ἑκαλόν. ¹¹)

the Septuagint sees in Ibri, not a designation of an ethnic people, but an adjective describing the river-crossing:

Ἀβραμ τῷ Περαιτῇ. ¹²

The Passover Haggada, certain parts of which are assumed to originate in the period of Rabban Gamaliel (late first century), holds the same view by quoting Joshua's exhortation to the Israelites' assembly in Schechem (Jos. 24:2-4):

. . . Across the River dwelt your ancestors, of old. Terah the father of Abraham and the father of Nahor; and they worshipped other Gods. And I took your father Abraham, from across the river, and I have led him throughout all the land of Canaan. . . .
(underlining mine)

This passage in which "עֵבֶר," is tied to the crossing of the river and not to עִבְרִי, is significant inasmuch as that Joshua is closer to the act of crossing when the formative phase of

¹¹Jew. Ant., Book I, 160, op. cit., pp. 70-71

¹²A. Rhalf, Septuaginta, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 19.

the emerging new nation of Israelites in Canaan is in its full swing. This "Declaration" was made in the presence of "all the tribes of Israel, its elders, heads of families, magistrates and judges," and constitutes a real Constitutional Document for the future generations. The repetition of this "Declaration" by the authors of the Haggada means a validation of the tradition as to the origins of the people.

Josephus brings external testimony from other historians, among whom that of Nicholas of Damascus:

Abram (es) reigned (in Damascus) as invader who had come with an army from the country beyond Babylon, called the Land of the Chaldees. But not long after, he left this country also with his people for the land then called Canaan but now Judaea, where he settled, he and his numerous descendants. . . .¹³

We have thus seen that the term "עַבְרִי" might have been used as a technical term for the group of emigrants who crossed the Euphrates River to settle in Canaan, it is not inconceivable that the local population with their various tribes, Canaanites, Jebusites, Hittites, Amorites, etc., identified the new settlers by the adjective designating, in their semitic tongues, the fact of their arrival from "Across the River." The latter term was apparently a well established geographical notion, for historical evidence shows that it was still used in the Persian administration. Artaxerxes, in

¹³Jew. Ant., I, 160, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

his charter to Ezra (Ezra 7:21), writing from Suza, names the western side of the Euphrates exactly the same way "Abar Nahara" (LXX: ἐν περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ),¹⁴ the same language as was used in the case of Abraham. The Euphrates River was, it seems, a geographical landmark by which people were designated as coming from that or the other side of the river.

Except the designation of Abraham as עֲבְרָי in verse (Gen. 14:13), nowhere do the prophets or later leaders and rabbis hail him as a Hebrew, or make the slightest reference to him as being an ancestor of a Hebrew people. To them, no such people of Hebrews ever existed. For, when the divine action to shape the new people which was to be linked to the new land and to their God is taken, it was expressed through the establishing of a new name for Jacob, the grandson of Abraham, the Ibri, namely, Israel. This name was still symbolic only until the Exodus from Egypt. From then on, it was slowly adopted as an appellation for Jacob's descendants, Benei Israel,¹⁵ yet mainly within intra-tribal bounds only. The local population among whom the

¹⁴Esdras II, 7:25.

¹⁵Commonly translated in the English versions of the Bible: "the Children of Israel." However, the Hebrew meaning tends more to the designation of a gentilic name. Compare Amos 1:13: Benei-Amon; Ezekiel 23:9: Benei-Ashur (J.P.S. text: the Assyrians!); Joel 4:6: Benei-Ha-Yevanim (J.P.S. text: the Yevanim!); Jud. 6:3: Benei Kedem (rendered by some, the Kedemites). Seen from this vantage point, Benei Israel and Israel are but the two faces of the same coin. However, each term will be duly analyzed.

foreign Hebrews dwelt continued to call them "the Hebrews"-- the people who arrived from "Across the River." By this name they continued to be known until the time when the Philistines appeared on the scene in Saul's time (I Sam. 4:6, 9, 14:11, 29:s). By this name they were also known to the Egyptians, from Pharaoh to the prisoners in jail (Gen. 41:12).

Potiphar's wife calls Joseph derisively "a Hebrew man" and "the Hebrew slave" (Gen. 39:17). Although Joseph, speaking to the cup-bearer in jail, identifies himself as a man who was "stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews" (Gen. 40:15), there is no historicity in this term. It is difficult to suppose that prior to the departure of the Benei Israel to Egypt their influence in the Land of Canaan should already have been so great as to be able to call that land "a Land of the Hebrews."¹⁶ Joseph's attendants in his Viceroy court dissociate themselves from dining with his Hebrew brothers, an act which is contrary to their customs, and they dine at separate tables. This tradition goes on until the Pharaoh "who knew not Joseph" (Ex. 1:8) and who initiates the persecutions against the people of the Benei Israel (Ex. 1:13).

2. From Hebrew to Israel, Moses' Transition

The author of the Book of Exodus starts the new chap-

¹⁶The English term "Land of the Hebrews" is somewhat different from the Septuagint term "ἐξ γῆς Ἑβραίων", which means "the physical land property" owned by the Hebrew tribes.

ter of the history of the Hebrews in Egypt by introducing new appellations. Throughout the first fifteen chapters of the book dealing with the Israelites' sufferance, slavery, and the Exodus from Egypt, even in the negotiations between Moses and Pharaoh, and Moses' conversation with God, the new element of "Benei Israel" is thrown on the historical scene. Some remnants of the usage of the term "Hebrew" are still found on several occasions but they are the exception. Used in special circumstances, and mostly, as in the pre-Exodus period, as an identification of a hated foreign people, it is the Egyptians who designate their enemies as "Hebrews": the Hebrew midwives (Ex. 1:15, 19), a Hebrew child (Ex. 2:6), the Hebrew nurse (Ex. 2:7)--all are identifications of the foreign element.

We then have a few identifications by Moses himself when he calls a man of his people "a Hebrew, one of his brethren"

אִשְׁכְּנַנִּי עִבְרִי אֶחָד, and on another occasion, again: "two men of the Hebrews were striving together" (Ex. 2:11, 13). This is the only case when the author of the Exodus describes the Jews in Egypt as 'Ibrim': however, it should be noted that the usage is made before the Exodus occurs. Even when Moses receives his mission from God, with the command to go before Pharaoh and demand three days leave for his people to go to the desert and sacrifice, the author of Exodus knows it is appropriate to explain to Pharaoh that it is the "God of the Hebrews" (Ex. 3:18) who is asking for this excursion. Indeed, when Moses and Aaron appear before Pharaoh and declare: "Thus said the Lord, the God of Israel: Let My people go!", his answer is "I know not the Lord". They explain: "It is the God of the Hebrews"

who has commanded us.

The usage of the term Hebrew ends with the Exodus. When it is used again in the Book of Exodus, it is in a codification context of the status of slaves in the future free society to be established on reaching Canaan. This pertains to the status of a Hebrew slave, who shall be granted his freedom in the seventh year (Ex. 21:2). "Hebrew slave" became thus a legal term of the Torah, and later, its feminine counterpoint a "Hebrew female-slave" עֶבְרִיָּה/עֶבְרִיָּה. As such, they survived in the social and legal terminology of the Talmud which refers in many instances to the status, rights, and special privileges which the "Hebrew slave" and "Hebrew slave maid" enjoy. Jeremiah, in the days of King Zedekiah, ca. 590 B.C., reminds the Judaeans of their ancient obligation "each one" to free his Hebrew male slave and Hebrew female slave, and not keep Judaeans, their brethren, in servitude (Jer. 34:0, 14).

As to Moses, it certainly is hard to explain why he^{16a} chose the appellation "Hebrew" for the Jewish slaves. However, his options as a builder of a new nation were not many. The term, "Judaeans" is based on regional belonging (see Introduction, p.1) and was introduced only 650 years later. The term Israel was to represent in the eyes of the people a symbol of a chosen people by their God. He chose--perhaps as a matter of convenience--the despised name of the slave in Egypt, "a Hebrew

16a

This statement does not refer to the literary evolution of the Book of Exodus. Although the term "Hebrew slave" comes from the pen of an author in a post-Sinai period, it cannot be doubted that he transmitted a genuine tradition that the origin of the term is in the Desert-of-Sinai-period, and it comes, as the whole Code, from the mouth of Moses.

slave," indicating by this that "Hebrew" and slavery go hand in hand, while Israel and Freedom are the opposite pole.

Although Jeremiah 650 years later calls the Hebrew slave "your brother" (Jer. 34:9), this appeal does not change in essence the meaning Moses had attached to the combined formula of "a Hebrew slave." Jeremiah's appeal is made on humanitarian grounds, and the formula continued to be used in the same way down to the late Talmudic period.

Historically, we are proceeding to the period of the Judges, when usage of the term "Hebrew" is again made in a limited number of events and episodes. Neither the Books of Joshua nor Judges contain any references to Hebrews. But I Samuel carries some passages mentioning them. They are, with few exceptions, used by the Philistines to designate their enemies, the "Benei Israel," who have settled in their midst or on their peripheries, and with whom in the Judgeship of Samuel they came in conflict. In all their confrontations with the Israelites, they call them "Hebrews," while the Judges and Samuel call themselves and their fellow brethren "Benei Israel." It would appear, therefore, that the tribes' entry into Canaan until the establishment of the monarchy by Samuel, a period of approximately 200-250 years, a new reality was created in the national feeling of the individual tribes. The term coined by Moses in the desert and under Joshua and the Judges, "Benei Israel," took a strong hold. The Philistines still identify them by the

archaic appellation of "Hebrews," which stems perhaps from the pre-Exodus tradition in the Land of Canaan. In that period, the native residents of Canaan knew them for centuries as "the Hebrews from Across the River." On the other hand, it is also possible that as refugees from Egypt, the Israelite tribes were still seen by the peoples of Canaan as the "Hebrews" who left Egypt and were bound for a war of conquest and destruction of the local peoples. Their constant wars against the new Israelite settlers were--seen from their point of view--a defensive war, a war for Philistine survival. Thence, their animosity to the hated foreigners and their appellation of the invaders: "Hebrews." Confronted with the Israelite armies, they exclaim with horror: "The Hebrews!" (I Sam. 4:6-9).¹⁷

Exception to this usage is made by the author of the tale of Saul's period. Despite his appellation of Saul "King of Israel" (I Sam. 13:1), who has an army of Israelites and is mobilizing the people of Israel, the author of I Samuel twice names Saul's people "Hebrews". "And Saul has blown with the shofar in the whole land, with the purpose that Hebrews shall be alerted"

¹⁷An interesting opinion on text in I Sam. 14:21 is expressed by Orlinsky, *Anc. Israel*, op. cit., pp. 51, 52, which takes the "Hebrews" as the ancient permanent residents of Canaan who did not emigrate to Egypt. He says: "The text appears to say that the Hebrews had sided with the Philistines and were deserting to the Israelites. . . ." The whole aspect of the Philistine-Hebrew-(Ibrīm)-Israel[ites] relations is discussed widely in Excursus II, Vol. II, p. 110. *infra*, where a reinterpretation of certain passages is suggested. See these.

(I Sam. 13:3). "And Hebrews have passed the Jordan into Gad and Gilead. . . ." (I Sam. 13:7)

A characteristic description of the political terminology of the Samuel and Saul period is (I Sam. 13:19,20):

Now there was no smith found throughout all the Land of Israel (בְּכָל אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל) for the Philistines said: Lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears but all Israel (Israelites) went down to the Philistines in order to sharpen every man his ploughshare and his culter and his axe and his mattock. (Emphasis mine)

Three important conclusions can be made from these passages:

- (1) the land inhabited by the Israelite tribes was already called in the early monarchy by themselves "the Land of Israel";
- (2) the neighbors of Israel still referred to them as "Hebrews."

It can fairly be reasoned that the Philistine tradition of designating the Israelites as "Hebrews" is at the base of its usage by the population of the region in later periods. The Philistine region was, in the centuries that followed, settled by other peoples such as Canaanites, Greeks, Syrians; the appellation of Hebrews, most probably, was known to the new peoples, although not used by them as a practical designation. The facts were there, to be readily made known among traveling foreigners. This would also explain the incident of Jonah.

In the Book of Jonah (Jon. 1:9), we see again this sort of identification of an Israelite before foreigners. Asked by the bewildered seamen, "Tell us where do you come from, what is your country, and of what nation are you?" Jonah's

reply to all three questions was one: "I am a Hebrew, and I fear the Lord, the God of Heaven. . . ."

There were no more questions. The author implies by this that the term Hebrew was known to them. They were coming from the seaport of Joppa, a trading center on the coast. Whoever were, at the time of the setting of the story, the main residents of the port city, Philistines, Phoenicians, or others, some "Hebrews" apparently resided there, permanently or as transients on business. Their name and that of their God was known to the seafarers who visited the port.¹⁸

The Formation of the People Israel and Its Appellation

1. From Exodus to the Conquest of Canaan

The name Israel accorded by tradition to Jacob in the early Patriarchal age (ca. 1650 B.C.), did not take hold with the Hebrews until it was introduced in the desert of Sinai after the Exodus from Egypt. Great political changes become turning points in nations' lives, and so did it happen with the Hebrews exiting from Egypt. To break with their past and put them on a new track in preparation for a new national purpose--the receiving of the Law from Sinai, and the march towards Canaan--the name of the people was changed. Moses

¹⁸On the other hand, consideration should be given to the notion of "Hebrew" in the author's own age. His universal concept of God would indicate--according to some scholars--a concept of a Hellenistic Jew. The usage of Hebrew in pathetic contexts is evident from the Books of Judith and II Maccabees (see Chapter Three, pp. 128, 133) and should not be disregarded.

according to the Book of Exodus, --begins to call his people by the name Israel, or, in its alternate form, Benei Israel.

The authors of Exodus break away from using the term Hebrews as soon as the people have securely crossed the Red Sea. "And Israel saw the great hand" (of God) (Ex. 14:31).

Moses and the Benei-Israel sing the song of praise (Ex. 15:1-19) and next the march of Israel in the desert starts. The author of Exodus uses the formula of Benei-Israel whenever a command is given by God to Moses to present a certain case to the people (Ex. 27:20, 31:13, etc.), i.e. in indirect usage. But when an action is initiated by Moses as a leader of his people, his formula is also direct. The people are called Israel. "And Moses led Israel from the Red Sea" (Ex. 15:23). "Jethro heard what God has done to Moses and to his people Israel" (18:1). The people have a consultative organ, a Council of "Seventy Elders of Israel" (Ex. 24:1).

The author of Leviticus generally follows the previous rule. In the enacting of the anti-idolatry laws, the people are addressed as Benei-Israel but the aliens are spoken of as "the strangers that sojourn in Israel" (Lev. 20:1). Naturally, it is not of a land that is spoken here. The Hebrew preposition "כ" means here, among. It is then spoken of aliens who will live among the people called Israel, when and wherever they will settle.

The author of Numbers observes the rule with regard to commands, as before. The census of the conscripts for military service deals with a people called simply Israel,

and the commanders of the units of thousands (In Septuagint: χίλιάρχοι) are called Rashei alphei Israel" (the heads of the Thousands of Israel). Moses tries to persuade Jethro to join his people in the march to Canaan" . . . for God has spoken well of Israel" (Num. 10:30). Jethro is not persuaded and declines his plea. The "command-formula" Benei-Israel is used even in God's instruction to send the explorers to Canaan (" . . . which I give unto the Benei-Israel") (Num. 13:1). The indigenous peoples of the Land to be conquered are told about Israel as a people. (1) Edom: "thy brother Israel" (20:14); (2) The Canaanites of Arad (21:1-3); (3) Sichon King of the Emorites (21:21). In the songs commemorating the heroic achievements of the Israelite warriors, the people are called Israel. And so it goes on with Balak and Bileam. Bileam's praise for Israel and his twin-glorification of Jacob and Israel becomes the prototype for future literary usage in exhortative or emotional contexts by prophets, the Psalmist and Ben-Sira. The immortal phrase, "How good are thy tents, O Jacob, thy dwellings, O Israel" has its setting in the desert of Sinai when the people called Israel were in the very early formative stage.

In some cases, when social or organizational problems are handled by the community as a whole, the term "Benei-Israel" is used (32:1-7). "And wherefore will you turn away the heart of the Benei-Israel from going over into the Land. . . ." (32:7) The book concludes with the statement: "These

are the commandments and the ordinances which the Lord commanded the Benei-Israel by the hand of Moses. . . ."

The Deuteronomist tells the story of Moses and his people, and uses predominantly the term Israel, the expression Benei-Israel being almost unnoticeable. "Moses called unto all Israel and said unto them: Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one" (Deut. 6:4). Before crossing the Jordan, the people are given an indoctrinatory address: "Hear, O Israel, you are to pass over the Jordan this day. . . ." (9:1) When the people are advised about morals and conduct in wars, it is addressed again by the same formula: "Hear, O Israel, you are about to go to war with your enemies. . . ." The formative period of the people Israel in the desert is stressed in Moses' enunciation: "Keep silence and hear O, Israel; this day you have become a people. . . ." (27:9) In the final chapters, he addresses the assembled people: "You are standing this day all of you . . . your elders . . . and all the men of Israel." (29:9) Finally, Moses assembles them to make his last address. All appeals are made to Israel except the preamble in which he advises each one to study and memorize the song he is going to sing before them. "Now therefore write ye this song for you, and teach thou it to the Children of Israel; put it in their mouths that this song may be a witness for Me against the Children of Israel" (31:19).

The set of blessings pronounced by Moses is also said to be given to the Benei-Israel, and after his death they

bewail him. The book ends with a note that "there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses," and it glorifies the wonders and awesome deeds he performed "in the sight of all Israel."

2. From the Conquest to the Early Prophets

In the early part of this period, the people are-- despite Moses' earlier appeal and exhortations--not yet united. Joshua calls them "Benei-Israel." The land is divided among them, and when he orders them to assemble in Schechem in order to sum up the "Operation Conquest," it is an assembly of the "tribes of Israel."

In the period of the Judges, despite the tribal allegiances and territorial spread of the new settlers, the tradition, as recorded by the authors of the historical events, presents to us a homogeneous community called Israel.¹⁹ Judges (17:6, 18:1, 19:1) says: "In those days, when there was no king in Israel." Deborah, after her victorious war against the Canaanites, sings the glory of Israel. Although Israel in her times is not a territorial concept, the word is

¹⁹The exact demarcation line between change of the appellations from "Hebrew" to "Israel" is a matter of intermittent debate among scholars. My own view concurs with that of Albright's: "Under Joshua's leadership the Hebrews gained the upper hand, occupying much of the hill-country which they had not held previously and adopting the common designation of 'Israel.'" (underlining mine) Bibl. Period, op. cit., p. 33. However, according to my view, the implementation of this declared intention took some time, and this is what I call the formative phase, which did not end, definitely, before David's coronation.

used seven times in the meaning of a people, united by strong bonds transcending the physical barriers separating them and linking them to their God. Deborah says: The troubles lasted "Until thou didst arise, Deborah, Thou didst arise, a mother in Israel." (Jud. 5:7) The phrase "to help Israel" is frequently used in the Book of Judges (10:1, 6:15). The concept of a homogeneous people named Israel starts to take hold in that period. Judges 6:3 identifies Israel as the counterpart of three other Biblical peoples: Midian and Amalek. "And when Israel had slain, Midian, Amalek and the Benei Kedem invaded their land. . . ." (Jud. 6:3)

The Judges are said to "judge Israel" as a people. "And after him judged Israel X son of Y, "n" years is the formula mostly used (e.g., 12:8, 12, 13, 15:20, 16:31). The man from Gibeon sends the dismembered pieces of his wife's body onto (בכל גבול ישראל) all places within the boundaries of Israel. This expression may be interpreted, on the one hand, as the territory known by a name "Israel," or, on the other hand, as the non-contiguous territories of the tribes of Israel, wherever they may have lived.

Whatever meaning we ascribe to this expression, it proves that right before the monarchic period when Samuel appears on the scene, the land and the people acquire a well defined appellation of Israel. "They had committed an outrage in Israel" (Jud. 20:6). "We will purge Israel of its wickedness" (Jud. 20:13). Chapter twenty speaks of the Israelites as איש ישראל "the man of Israel" (singular used in

the plural sense). And chapter twenty-one ends again on a note: "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes." Samuel still continues the tradition of appointing his sons as Shophetim over Israel (I Sam. 8:1). He ultimately accedes to the demand of the people and anoints Saul as their king. "And Samuel said unto all Israel: behold I have listened to you . . . and gave you a king" (I Sam. 12:1). Samuel declares to Saul: God has sent me to anoint you as king over his people, over Israel (I Sam. 15:1). This is the most explicit statement that the formative phase of the appellation Israel has come to an end.

David becomes the next choice of Samuel to be king of Israel. At this point in history, the fame achieved both by David and his son Solomon as great kings establish Israel de facto as a great nation in the area. One would consequently expect to find evidence in literature of other nations, or epigraphical finds, that the appellation Israel was absorbed into the political vocabulary of the region. Unfortunately, this is not the case. In the Mesha stella²⁰ Omri is called king of Israel when David's kingdom was already split in two. Artaxerxes' charter to Ezra also names his people "Israel"²¹

²⁰See Pritchard, The Ancient Near East Texts (Princeton: 1971), p. 209. Mesha was king of Moab ca. 850 B.C. (II Kings 3:4). Discovered in 1868; written in an early Hebrew dialect almost resembling Biblical Hebrew.

²¹This is the only case in Antiquity where the "Jewish" people was referred to in a historical document (whose historicity--except for Charles C. Torrey--no one doubts) as the people Israel ("עַמּוּלְיִשְׂרָאֵל"). Being so exceptional,

(Ezra 7:13) but this testimony emanates from Ezra himself. Sanacherib does not know a people by the name of Israel, and so we may conclude that the appellation Israel was not popular among the peoples and rulers of the Near East and has not gained recognition as a practical name of the people of Israel in the territories of both kingdoms.

3. The Latter Prophets

21a

Isaiah II is the first among the prophets to preach the notion of Israel as a chosen people (although earlier stated in Deut. 7:6), coupling it with the patronym Jacob. "And now listen my servant Jacob and Israel whom I have chosen" (Is. 44:1). Sometimes the people are called "Beit-Jacob," and it is still identified with Israel. This view is clearly expressed in Is. 41:1, "Hear ye, this, O house of Jacob, who are called by the name of Israel." Many epithets of God are linked to Israel, such as "Thy Redeemer the Holy One of Israel" (Is. 48:17, 49:7).

Jeremiah sees in Israel a people especially dear to God, and he appeals to them to return to him. "The salvation

and dating back to 457 B.C., it is not likely that Artaxerxes I, would, in his age in Suza, have used this appellation as a political name of a small, ethnic, far away group. First Esdras, indeed, disagrees with the Massoretic text and calls the Jews Ioudaioi (I Esdras 7:1). There are also other scholars who reject the genuineness of the term (R. H. Pfeifer, Mowinckel, Bertholet and others). It is quite plausible to assume that Ezra has used this appellation to give it more solemnity.

21a

By "first" is meant the order in the Biblical Books, section of Prophets. Only selections are quoted, and many of the unquoted prophets also contribute to the same expressions and preachings.

of Israel is in God" (Jer. 3:23). "If you will return, O Israel, unto me you will return" (Jer. 4:1). The dispersion of Israel and its redemption are prophesied in sentimental terms. "The remainder of Israel" (31:1); "He that scatters Israel will gather him, and keep him as a shepherd doth his flock" (31:10).

A series of affectionate expressions for Israel are used by Jeremiah: (a) "the offspring of Israel" (31:5); (b) "the families of Israel" (30:25); (c) "do not fear, O Israel!" (30:10); (d) ". . . and I loved you an eternal love, O Israel" (31:12); (e) "Israel is a scattered flock" (50:17); (f) "Israel is not left widowed" (51:5). All this is very significant when we compare Jeremiah's pragmatic usage of the term "Yehudi-Judaean," when it comes to dealing with actual political events and problems. So he says, for instance, "and I gave the book to . . . in the presence of all the Judaeans. . . ." (32:12)

Ezekiel, prophesying in Babylon to his fellow Judaeans in exile, says that he was sent to deliver God's message to the Benei-Israel and Beth-Israel (Ez. 2:1, 3:1, 4, 5, 6:11, etc. through all chapters to 17:1). The latter term was already used by Jeremiah in the pre-exilic period (Jer. 23:8, 48:13, etc.), but Ezechiel's usage is more profuse. In addition, as a prophet preaching on pre-exilic events, he uses terms relating to the people and the land from which it has been exiled, different from those used by

the pre-exilic prophets. He speaks of "the land of Israel" (12:19, 22, etc.), "prophets of Israel" (39:17), "the shepherds of Israel" (34:1, 2), "the Elders of Israel" (14:1, etc.), "the House of Israel" (14:4, 5, etc.), "my people Israel" (14:9). Referring to future relations between Jews and aliens, the Jewish community is called "Beth-Israel," and an alien will live "among Israel" (14:7). This is not necessarily referring to Palestine but to Jewish communities in the Dispersion as well. The formative period of the concept of a cohesive community of men belonging to the House of Israel, shortly called "Israel" starts in Babylon with Ezekiel. In his proverb about the "sour grapes" (18:2-3), the "Land of Israel" refers to the past, and Israel as a geopolitical borderless nation is the forecast of the future.

4. The Minor Prophets

Neither the pre-exilic nor the post-exilic prophets contribute to new usages, formulas, or combinations of the appellation "Israel" that have not been brought forth by the great prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

"Israel" After the Return from Babylon Transformation of Its Meaning

The new realities which resulted from the Edict of Cyrus in 538 B.C., the Return to Zion, and the activities of Ezra and Nehemiah in the middle of the fifth century, have transformed the meaning of the appellation Israel. A large part of the exiles decided to stay on in Babylon, laying the

foundation for the greatest Jewish center outside Palestine, which was to play a predominant role in the preservation of Israel as a people in the centuries to come. To paraphrase the Talmud, three times in the history of the Jewish existence, appeal was made by Jews in Palestine for help to establish law and learning in Israel; they were Ezra, Hillel, and Rabbi Hiya.²² Indeed, Ezra laid the foundation for a new concept of Israel. No more is it an appellation for a monocentric nation, independent, and master of its destination, but for a bi-centric nation, offsprings of the pre-exilic Israel: one living in the Persian province Yehud and the other in Babylon. This is the formative period of the concept of an extritorial Israel. The Jews both in Babylon and in Yehud are called by their Aramaic name Yehudai (Ezra 4:12, 5:5, etc.). Nehemiah, even in Hebrew, for pragmatical dealings, calls the residents of Judaea 'Yehudim' (Neh. 1:2, 4:6, etc.). However, on the national level, both Ezra and Nehemiah call the people Israel; Artaxerxes' charter to Ezra is formulated for a people called Israel (Ezra 7:11, 13). His activity is for the establishment of the Law in Israel. Nehemiah, as well, sees for his purpose the strengthening of the people, the Law, and the security of Israel in adverse circumstances.

The Psalms. This book is so profuse with the praise of "Israel" in the new concept it has acquired during the

²²Sukkah 20a. The words are attributed to R. Simeon ben Lakish, a Palestinian Amora of the third century. See also Sifre, Deut. #48.

period of the Second Commonwealth that it has become the source of prayer, hope and inspiration for Jews in distressful situations. In trying circumstances, a Jew feels his link with a people called Israel, which is under the protection of its God, the God of Israel.²³

The Biblical Term "Yehudi"

The formative phase of the appellation Yehudi starts when the Chaldeans, under Nebuchadnezzar, become involved in the life of the Kingdom of Judaea. Their actions created the political reality necessitating the making of a distinction between two national entities: the Chaldeans (Kasdim) and the Judaeans (Yehudim). As exiles in Babylon, the latter are identified by the foreign administrations as Judaeans, and under this name (in its Aramaic form Yehudai), they return to Judaea after Cyrus' Edict in 538 B.C. This is the formative phase of the appellation in Hebrew and Aramaic, and from this time on it will slowly penetrate into the lands of Syria and Anatolia until it will emerge in the writings of certain Greek authors, giving expression to their unclear conception as to who these Judaeans-Ioudaioi are.

This appellation in all the Books of the O.T. except the Book of Esther is used only 23 times. In contradistinction to this limited usage, the author of Esther

²³The Christian Church, through the glorification of Jesus' link to King David, gave the Psalms the same affectionate status in the Church's Liturgy.

uses it in the short story about 50 times. The analysis of the different circumstances of the usage of Yehudim will reveal its meaning in the Biblical period.

1. Pre-exilic Period

a. II Kings

The oldest reference to Yehudim in the Prophets is in II Kings 16:6. "Rezin, King of Aram expelled the Yehudim from Elath." Naturally, it is to the Judaeans that he refers. Procopius of Caesarea writes in the sixth century A.D. about the ancient origin of the "Hebrews" on the island of Iotabe.²⁴ Apparently, they were not disturbed by Rezin, but those of Elath were replaced by Arameans or Edomites. This occurred in the time of Achaz, King of Judea (ca. 735 B.C.).

b. Jeremiah

On the eve of the Babylonian exile, Jeremiah makes use of Yehudi. Ishmael ben Nethania of the royal family kills Gedaliahu and all the Yehudim who were with him (Jer. 41:3). The same language is used in II K. 25:25. The deed of purchase of a lot from Hanamel in Anathoth is presented by Jeremiah in the presence of all the Yehudim present in the court of the Guard House (Jer. 32:12). King Zedekiah is worried about maltreatment out of vengeance by his citizens the Yehudim who are in the Babylonian captivity (Jer. 38:19). All the Yehudim who took refuge in Moab, Amorite territory

²⁴See Ch. Five, p. 116 ; Hist. of the Wars, op. cit., Book I, XIX, 1-4.

and Edom, have heard about the tolerant attitude of the King of Babylon to the remnants of Judea and they have returned home (Jer. 40:11-12). After fleeing to Egypt, Jeremiah is entreated to perform a certain act in the presence of "Judaean men" (anashim yehudim) (Jer. 43:10).

The number of Judaeans exiled by Nebuchadnezzar and Nabuzeradan is given in Jer. 52:19-30.

It is evident that Jeremiah uses the terms as defined in Introduction 1A(1), i.e., the residents of Judaea.

2. Post-exilic Period

a. The Return to Yehud

In the seventy years of captivity in Babylonia, the Jews acquire a sense of belonging to a national group; they hope for and await the return to their ancestors' land. When this historical moment arrives in the event of the Edict of Cyrus in 538 B.C., they arrive in Judaea with a new identification mark, the Aramaic term Yehudai. This term is used by the Persian administration of the province of Abar-Nahara when reporting to the Persian kings, about, or making charges against, the new Returnees, in connection with the reconstruction of the Temple. The Persian administrators of Yehud report to their King Artaxerxes: "Be it known to your Majesty that the Jews (Yehudaié) who left you, have reached us" (Ezra 4:12).

This term is mentioned eight times in its Aramaic form. It would be erroneous to assume that the term was used only in a hostile context by non-Jews. Haggai and Zachariah

also call their fellow compatriots Yehudaié. (Ezra 5:1).

Since Yehud was the new name of the region of settlement of the arrivals from Babylon, it was natural, in accordance with the current custom of linking the appellation of a people to the name of its territory, to be called Yehudai in Aramaic. Although the Hebrew parts of the Book of Ezra come from the same writer, the term Yehudi is not used. At best, the people are called "the people of Judah"--"am Yehuda" (Ezra 4:5), but mostly, Israel (2:70, 3:1).

b. Ezra

In 457 B.C. Artaxerxes I gives Ezra a charter to go to Yehud (7:14) and institute religious reforms there. Curiously enough, the charter does not name Ezra's people as Yehudaié but Israel.²⁵ But this should not surprise us. Throughout the Chapters 7-10 of Ezra's memoirs, "Israel" is consistently used. Ezra is a priest and sees the people always as Israel.

c. Nehemiah

As a pragmatic politician, the Tirshata, the Pacha, he sees things differently. The members of the delegation from Judaea are asked about the lot of the Yehudim (Neh. 1:2). Sanballat, the Samaritan, ridicules the Yehudim (Neh. 3:33-34). Nehemiah himself, dealing with the economic and social problems of his people, or reporting about his experiences with his entourage, always talks of them as Yehudim (Neh.

²⁵See note 21.

4:6, 5:1, 8, 17). The surrounding neighbors charge that he and the Yehudim are intending to revolt against the Persians (Neh. 6:6).

On his return from Suza after his leave of absence, he sums up in his memoirs his latest observations on the people's life: "In those days also saw I the Yehudim marrying Ashdodite women . . . and their children do not speak the Judaeen language (dialect)" (Neh. 13:18, 23, 24).

d. Nehemiah is the first Jewish leader to raise the question of the Jews living outside the borders of Judaea proper, namely, in Samaria and Ammanitis. As a leader, he took into account the effect of his policies towards his neighbors, the Samaritans and Ammonites, on the lot of his fellow-Jews living "among them." "When the Yehudim who dwelt by them came and said unto us. . . ." (Neh. 4:6). A feeling of fraternity with the Judaeans who were held in captivity or slavery is also expressed by him in his debates with the local people. Speaking of his social reforms, he also mentions the problem of the enslaved Jews. "We after our ability have redeemed our brethren the Yehudim that sold themselves unto the heathen. . . ." (Neh. 5:8).

e. Esther, Daniel

The other two Biblical books containing the appellation Yehudi in Hebrew and Aramaic are Esther and Daniel. The authorship of these books is inconsequential for our analysis, but most scholars suggest that they were written in the first half of the second century B.C. However, they both

refer the reader to periods in Jewish history when the Judaeans were in the Dispersion which followed the first fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

The author of the Book of Esther, writing in pure Biblical Hebrew, uses only Yehudim as the people which is subject to the extermination plan of Haman. Not a single reference to Israel is made in the whole book while Yehudi-im is used fifty times, a record number in all the Hagiographa. Yehudi was not only the designation of those residing in Susa. Mordecai dispatches letters to all Yehudim in the near and far states ruled by the Persian monarch (Est. 9:20).

In the Book of Daniel, in the sections written in Hebrew, the exiles are identified as Benei-Yehuda (Judaeans) (Dan. 1:7). But in the Aramaic sections they are called "the exiles of Yehud" (Dan. 2:25, 5:13, 6:14), or simply יְהוּדָיִם "Yehudaiê" (3:9). "There are men Yehudain. . . ." (3:12). But when Daniel proceeds to prayers, he uses "Israel" for the people on whose behalf he is praying.

f. Zechariah

A single reference to Yehudi is made in the apocalyptic parts of Zachariah. "In those days, it shall come to pass that ten men shall take hold out of all the languages of the nations, shall even take hold of the skirt of him that is a Yehudi and say: behold, we shall go with you for we have heard that God is with you!" (Zach. 8:23)

External Sources from the Biblical Period--
Inscription and Papyri

1. Egyptian Inscription

In a hymn of victory of Mer-Ne-Ptah (ca. 1230 B.C.),²⁶ over some Asiatic peoples, the victorious Pharaoh mentions among the peoples whom he subdued, a people called Israel. Scholars point, though, to the fact that the name appears on the with the determinative indicating a people rather than a land. This would confirm the situation of Israel in the period of the Conquest. The lines in the context of which the name appears, **are** as follows:

. . . carried off is Ashkelon; seized upon is Gezer;
Yanoam is made as that which does not exist; Israel is
laid waste, his seed is not; Hurru is become a widow for
Egypt! All lands together they are pacified; . . .

The form used for the term "Israel" points to the period when the Conquest processes were not yet completed and Israel was not master of Canaan. The Exodus is generally thought to have taken place in the reign of Raamses II, ca. 1240.

2. Moabite Inscription

The "Mesha Stone"²⁷ records events that took place in the period of Omri-Ahab and the Moabite King Mesha mentioned in II Kings 3:4. Pritchard dates the stone to 830 B.C.

Israel is mentioned as the name of Omri's kingdom: (a) "Omri King of Israel" (line 5); (b) ". . . and Israel has dwelt there in his time. . . ." (line 8); (c) ". . . and Chemosh

²⁶Pritchard, ANET, p. 231.

²⁷Donner H. Rollig W. Kanaanaische und Aramaische Inschriften. Wiesbaden: 1964. p.199

said to me: go take Nebo from Israel!" (line 14); (d) ". . . and the King of Israel had built Jahaz. . ." (line 18); (e) ". . . and I cut beams for Qarhoh with Israelite captives" (line 26).

3. Assyrian Inscription

From the turn of the seventh century, we have an Assyrian inscription describing Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem (ca. 705 B.C.).²⁸ In it he describes the results of his successful campaigns against the peoples of Palestine, Philistia and Phoenicia and their kings. King Hezekiah of Jerusalem is mentioned twice by the appellation equivalent to the Hebrew term Yehudi in its locative form. He speaks of the King of Ekron Padi whom his subjects have handed over to "Ha-za-ki-a-u Ia-u-da-ai," and how he forced Hezekiah to release Padi from his imprisonment in Ur-sa-li-im-mu (Jerusalem).

The time when Sennacherib uses this appellation is not distant from the time when Rezin, King of Damascus (ca. 735 B.C.), makes a similar usage.

4. Appellation "Israel" in Other Meanings

a. Ugaritic Documents

Gordon states that the personal name "Israel" has been found many times in documents found in Ras Shamra.²⁹

²⁸Pritchard, ANET, pp. 199-201.

²⁹Cyrus H. Gordon, The Anc. N.E., op. cit., p. 140, F.N.; however, Gordon is wrong in another footnote, p. 168, ad. loc., in which he argues against the wrong appellation chosen by the "Zionist State" in 1948. Our conclusion from

This points to the pre-Conquest period but has no bearing on the designation of Israel as a people.

b. The Elephatine Papyri are discussed in Chapter Three.

Conclusions on the Biblical Usage of the Three Appellations

Most of the passages where "Hebrew" is used lead to a conclusion that in the Patriarchal age and in Egyptian bondage the ancient (Hebrew) tribes were identified by other parties only as Hebrews. The few exceptions in the case of Joseph, Miriam and Moses, where it would seem that they in person identified themselves and their kin as "Hebrews" (Gen. 40:15, Ex. 2:7, 3:18) are only apparent contradictions. In fact, they indicate that this appellation was prevalent in the Egyptian sector and "Hebrew" was the only means by which a man of the "Israelite" sector could explain his identity to an Egyptian.

The difficulty with the passages in Ex. 2:11-13, relating to the two incidents in Moses' youth, when he first observes the Egyptian beating a "Hebrew," and then two "Hebrews" quarreling can be solved by similar reasoning. It should be observed that the author, as a narrator of a tradition relating to Moses' activities, uses the third person form and does not put this appellation in the mouth of Moses.

the study of the historical process of the appellations of the Jews is the opposite: It was the only correct one.

The realities which he describes are that there were two camps: Egyptians, the oppressors, and Hebrews, the oppressed. One incident occurs between members of the opposite camps; the other, between members of the "Hebrew" camp, Moses' own brethren! It is this situation which the narrator wants to emphasize, and it does not imply in any way that Moses called his brethren "Hebrews."

The term "Hebrew" was apparently not liked by the ancient Children of Jacob (Benei-Israel) in Canaan. Whether we shall link it to the bad social repuration of the Habiru tribes in Canaan in the Amarna age,³⁰ or to another reason, the fact is that the change of the name of a people (or, if we wish, a federation of tribes of the patronym Jacob) occurred here as early as in the third generation of the progenitor of what was later identified as the Hebrew people.

³⁰See note 9. Moscati, in his book, op. cit., p. 88, represents the possibility of "Hebrew" becoming derogative and contemptible thus: "What was originally the name of a tribe or group [Habiru], may have been extended and developed in meaning so as to connote the characteristic behavior of those who bore it, and thus denote likewise others distinguished by the same kind of behaviour. As far as the identification with the Hebrews this remains possible, so far as the name is concerned; in other words, it is possible that those with whom the Israelites came into contact regarded them as belonging to the Habiru groups, and so gave them that name." (underlining mine)

"... In the Tel Amarna archives there is repeated mention of Habiru, workers of devastation, infesting the country... etc." (... The importance of the Habiru is evident from the fact above, that their name can be linguistically identified with that of the Hebrews." (Ibid.)

Is there any wonder why the Philistines are so horrified when they notice them and call them contemptuously "Haibrim ha'eileh"? "מה העברים האלה" (I Sam. 4:6, 9; 29:3).

The fact that the Bible rationalized this act as done by the tribes on divine instruction to their father Jacob only points to the determination to break away from the old unsympathetic appellation.

As we have shown, as soon as the Exodus was a fait accompli, and the "Hebrews" crossed the Red Sea, the author of Exodus uses two terms for the designation of the people: Benei-Israel and Israel. Our analysis indicates that Moses called the people Israel, and the appellation Benei-Israel is always given as coming from divine source. This is not surprising. The author, through this term, wishes to emphasize the care and affection God is giving to the Children of Jacob, with whom the covenant was made some 430 years earlier (time of sojourn in Egyptian bondage).

Moses, as a leader, was faced many a time in the desert with open rebellion and incitement on the part of those who were prepared to return to Egypt. He was determined to wield a new nation, and a new name of Israel was part of his vision. He becomes the "prophet in Israel," like whom there never arose a man of similar stature. So are all the future wielders of the national goals: security, unity and the Law of Israel. Deborah--"a mother in Israel," David--"a king of Israel," Ezra--"a teacher in Israel."

The incidents with the Philistines, still identifying the Israelites as "Hebrews" in Saul's days, point to two possibilities: (1) The term "Hebrew" survived among the indigenous populations in Canaan and Philistia despite the

emigration of Jacob's children to Egypt. Apparently some tribes continued to stay on in Canaan, as is the opinion of certain scholars;³¹ (2) The term was used as an expression of hostility and shock against an invader who conquered settled peoples, expropriated their lands, and threatened those not yet conquered. Even in this case, a link to the earlier "Habiru" activity and psychology of warfare and plundering that was attributed to tribes under this common name, is unavoidable.

Whatever be the cause, this designation of "Hebrew" is neither favored nor appraised, nor honored in any Biblical books. The case of the term "Hebrew slave" instituted by Moses, has been explained earlier (see pp. 44-45), and fits well with Moses' concept of the newborn free nation of Israel.

The concept of "Israel" being the appellation of all the Jews living in both kingdoms did not fade away as a result of the split of Solomon's kingdom. The prophets of all periods saw always one people named "Israel."

When at the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries, drastic geopolitical changes take place in the Near East and nations redefine their borders and identities, we notice for the first time, that the Jews became conscious also of this trend. The appellation Yehudi, which for the first time appears massively in the Book of Jeremiah, is a product of the military and political events which occurred in and around Palestine in that period.

³¹ As H.M. Orlinsky. See note 17 supra.

In the same sense it is used by another realpolitiker," Nehemiah, 160 years later. Both he and Ezra acted in the name of a people called "Israel", praised its past and preached the preservation of the values of Israel.

"Yehudi" was just a pragmatic down to earth term, to be used in the context of international relations only. It stayed this way--in conspicuous contradistinction to the superior value of Israel.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEMOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS IN SYRIA-PALESTINE

The Heterogeneous Nature of the Population and Its
Impact on the Appellations of the Jews

In modern times, in particular in Western Europe, a man's nationality is closely linked to the name of the country in which he lives. The links formed between an Italian and Italy, a Frenchman and France, a Dane and Denmark, are very clear and unequivocal. In Antiquity, however, this was not necessarily the case. Peoples' names were not always related to those of the land in which they lived, and vice versa.

Certain lands were subject to population changes to such an extent that they lost their uni-national character and their society became multi-national. Typical of such transformations are Alexandria, and even Rome, with its mixed communities in the first century A.D. Egypt was colonized under the Ptolemies and settled by Greeks and Jews, and, no doubt, other nationalities joined in this process. Merely defining a man as "Egyptian" was inaccurate. As a matter of fact, Philo identifies the Alexandrians by "Greeks," "Jews," and "Egyptians," reserving the latter appellation only for the indigenous segment of the population. What was true for

Alexandria was just as valid for other countries of the Oikoumene.

The people we are dealing with, the Jews, had different appellations given to them by various peoples, writers, and literary sources in various historical periods. The same is true of the land in which their basic national history was shaped.

To start with the Biblical sources, a people called "Benei-Israel," exiting from Egypt, is told by its leaders, Moses and Joshua, to conquer a land named Canaan (in LXX designated as "γῆ Χανάν"). They are expressly commanded to dispossess Hittites, Girgashites, Canaanites, Amorites, Perizites, Hivites, and Jebusites.¹ But at the same time, they make a truce with certain local peoples and permit them to stay on in their cities.² The Philistines, on the coast of the Mediterranean and even in the Valley of Jezreel, are such a powerful and influential people in the area that their name is well known as a homogeneous people linked to a territory which gave its name to a whole region.³

Palestine was from its most ancient times, a land

¹Josh. 9:1.

²The Gibeonites, Josh. 9:4-27; the Geshurites and Maachites, Josh. 12:13; the Jebusites in Jerusalem, Josh. 15:63; the Canaanites in Gezer, Josh. 16:10; Meggido, Taanach, Ein-dor, Beth Shean, and Ibleam, cities in which the Canaanites were permitted to stay on, Josh. 17:12-13.

³The Pentapolis of the Philistines Gaza, Gat, Ascalon, Ekron, Ashdod (Azotus), Josh. 13:3; they were also predominant in the valley of Beth-Shean where King Saul died (I Sam. 21:10).

inhabited by a variety of tribes, and its population was never homogeneous. It always contained certain peoples, smaller or larger, dwelling in smaller or larger cities, who were different from the dominant people of the land which controlled the country in fact, or, when devoid of political control, nevertheless constituted the predominant element of the population.

In the "pre-Conquest" period, the city-state was the political form of organization of the indigenous peoples living in the area of Palestine-Canaan. Joshua fights thirty-one kings of city-states. The same is true for the period of the Judges. The Philistines have a union of city-states, Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gat and Ekron. Such cities' identity, extent, geographical location, race of inhabitants and name, may have changed during the centuries of ongoing strife among the political forces in the Near East. They seem, however, to have been able to withstand all the pressures of time and exist as a self-determined political unit with a strong economical base. A city like Beth-Shean, which is Philistine-dominated in King Saul's time, succeeds in retaining its independence well into the Hellenistic period; in the Maccabean period it has even a certain percentage of Jews in its population.⁴ The same city is so important in the early Roman period that it becomes, as Scythopolis, one of the ten cities of the Decapolis. Gaza, the Philistine fortress of

⁴II Macq. 12:31. Judah Maccabee came to their rescue in his campaign to deliver the Jews dwelling in mixed cities.

Samson's time, is militarily so self-confident in Alexander's time that it can offer to him a resistance of five months. It still continues as an independent city in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Ashdod is mentioned by Nehemiah as a center from which the danger of racial and cultural assimilation threatens the Judaeans. Caesarea was founded by Herod the Great as a city on a Hellenistic model, settled mostly by non-Judaeans. If we find Jews there at any time in the first centuries A.D., it is always as a tolerated minority and, in many cases, they are subject to persecutions.

Although in the third and fourth centuries A.D., Caesarea becomes one of the two learning centers of Palestine ("Rabbanan De Caesarin"), in which the Palestinian Talmud is created and forged, it is still a Greco-Roman city with an overwhelming Gentile population and an important ecclesiastical center. Origen founded his famous school there. Eusebius,⁵ as bishop of Caesarea, led his attacks against the Jews from there.

Philo records that the Ascalonites had an irreconcilable hostility to the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine.⁶ As to the city of Jamneia, chosen by R. Johanan ben Zakkai to be the refuge of the sages of Israel and the seat of the Sanhedrin, a city from which a new Judaism was to be reconstructed after the fall of Jerusalem, Philo says:

⁵Origen was bishop of Caesarea in 240 A.D. Eusebius was bishop in 312 A.D.

⁶The Embassy to Gaius, op. cit., XXX, 205; Ibid. 200.

Jammeia, one of the most populous cities of Judaea is inhabited by a mixture of people, the majority being Jews, with some others of alien races, intruders for mischief from the dwellers in adjacent countries.⁷

Surely, the adjacent countries in his mind are no others than the neighboring regions of the coast of Palestine.

The above peoples, with their city-governments, constituted local centers of foreign nations, or peoples, called the "Goyim" by the surrounding Judaeans in their literature (Bible, Apocrypha, Mishna).^{7a} As the languages of their dwellers differed, and so did their religion (City Gods), the designation of all these peoples by a collective name, "Goyim," was perhaps a matter of technical linguistic convenience.

But besides such local city-peoples or regional tribes, the region of historical Palestine underwent also drastic changes as a result of the wars in the area. Back in 722 B.C., when Shalmanassar conquered the Israelite Kingdom, he proceeded according to the customary Assyrian policy to exile the Israelite people to Halah, Gozan, Habor, and the cities of Media.⁸ In their place, he resettled strange foreign peoples in Samaria and its vicinity. They came from Babylon, Chutaea, Awa, Hamat and Sepharwaim. The dominant element must have been Chutaeans, for their appellation sur-

⁷ Ibid., 200, pp. 102-03

^{7a} Jer. 25:15,20; Neh. 5:9; I Macc. 6:53; Ab.Zara. 4:11, passim.

⁸ II Kings 17:6; Ibid. 17:24.

vived in Josephus⁹ and in Talmudic literature.¹⁰ This policy and action was called Nasahu,¹¹ and was a general practice of the victorious party in a war in the Near East in that period. As a foreign element they were disliked by their autochthonous neighbors, the Judaeans. Although the newcomers adopted Jehova as their new city-God, as was the custom in the region for resettled peoples, they were not welcome into the community of the Judaeans. In 536 B.C. Zerubabel told them that they were not welcome to join in the reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. In 444 B.C. Nehemiah was faced with a hostile effort on the part of Sanballat, the Governor (Pacha) of the Samaritans, to stop the reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem. Josephus, in the years 70-90 A.D., expresses a long-standing feeling of hatred of this foreign element in the land of the Jews, which was imposed on them by the Assyrians. In ca. 180 B.C. Ben Sira, writing in "Praise of Our Fathers," expresses his contemptuous feeling to the Samaritans by calling them "This foolish people of Shkhem, a people which are not even a nation."¹² The adjective used in the Hebrew language is even more contemptuous, "Goy nabal asher bi-Shkhem".

⁹Jew. Ant., op. cit., Book XI, 302, pp. 460-61: [Sanaballetes] was of the Cuthaeen race (Χουβαίλος το γένος). Ibid., IX, 288, 291; XI, 340.

¹⁰In numerous ordinances regulating relations between Jews and Kutim; e.g., Shek. 1:4, Gitt. 44:b, Ber. 47b.

¹¹Joseph Klausner, Historia shel Ha-Bait Ha-Shemi (Jerusalem: 1968), 5 vols; Vol. I, p. 179. The term is Accadian.

¹²Ben Sira, op. cit., Chap. 50: 25, 26.

Although his hatred of the contemporary residents of the region of Philistia is expressed in a somewhat milder form, the evidence of the inimical popular feeling of the Jews to their immediate neighbors is there.

An additional demographical change in the vicinity of Judaea, as a result of the Exiles of 596-586 B.C., took place to the south and east of Jerusalem. The Idoumaeans, heretofore, politically, an inactive tribe in the area, took advantage of the misfortune of the Judaeans and invaded the southern parts of Judea. In the pre-Nehemiah times, they were chastised by the Prophet Obadiah for their treacherous handling of their "brother Jacob." These tribes were growing in power, and the Maccabees already confronted them as a hostile force to the independence of Judea. The later Hasmoneans had to deal with them as an important political factor; John Hyrcanus conquered them and imposed circumcision on them.¹³ But this forced Judaization did not necessarily bring about an "entente cordiale" between the victor and the vanquished people. When Herod became, by the grace of the Romans, "King of the Judaeans," he was still hated, and considered by the Judaeans masses and leaders, a foreigner to the House of Israel.¹⁴

The Arabian tribes followed in the steps of the

¹³Josephus, *Jew. Ant.*, op. cit., XIII, 257-58.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Book XIV, 8:..of Herod's father, "an Idumaeon Antipater." *Ibid.*, 491: The Hasmoneans lost their royal power to Herod son of Antipater who came from a common people.

Idumaeans. Nehemiah had against him not only Samaritans but also the neighboring Arabs, whose geographical location is not indicated, but the nature of the international anti-Judaeen alliance between Sanballat the Samaritan, Geshem the Arabian, and Tobias the Ammonite, necessarily point to the direct interest of the Arabs in the elimination of the Judaeen entity from the region. The Arabs' involvement can be understood only if they were indeed living in the not distant regions, although their precise geographical borders cannot be identified.

The Hellenistic Period of the Seleucids and Ptolemaids brought about the establishment of new cities all over Coele-Syria, of which Palestine was a part. Although most of the new cities were in northern Syria (Antiochia, Apamea, Berytus, etc.), some new cities were in the immediate vicinity of Judaea, or the Galilee. Ptolemais, Dora, Ascalon, Anthedon, Rinocoura, were all coastal non-Jewish towns. In the early New Testament times, the cities of the Decapolis were the target of missionary activity by Jesus and his disciples.¹⁵ The Galilee is termed by the prophet: G'lil-Ha-Goyim, Galilee of the Nations (Is. 8:23).

Other peoples emerged in the pre-Herodian time as the immediate neighbors of the Judaeans. They were the Nabateans and the Itureans, on the east and north of the Jordan, re-

¹⁵Matthew 4:25: "And he was followed by enormous crowds from Galilee, the Decapolis . . . and beyond the river Jordan."

spectively. In the Augustan period, semi-autonomous districts appeared on the political map of the region of Coele-Syria: Batanea, Perea, Trachonitis.¹⁶

The Mishnah tends to embrace all the non-Jewish peoples in one generic name of "Goyim", (sometimes Nokhrim, in a more technical sense). "... in a city in which Israel[ites] and Goyim live together it is permitted; in a city inhabited by Goyim only it is forbidden...". (Ab. Zara 4:11). Beth-Shean, is mentioned as typical of such a mixed city. (Ab. Zara 4:12). As to the non-Jewish historians or geographers, they knew not of a country named Judaea, or if known, it is as one of the elements constituting the greater geographical zone of Coele-Syria. In the Persian period, this zone was called Abar-Nehara, and its administrator, a Satrap (Eparchos or Pacha), ruled over Samaria and Yehud also. At least one passage in the Septuagint calls this zone Coele-Syria (I Esdras 8:66). Syria and Coele-Syria are the Hellenistic names of the geographical zone, situated between Anatolia in the north, the Negev in the south, and between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean Sea. The southern part, in which Judaea was located, was geographically termed in Greek "The Palestinian Syria," and this name, with small variations, penetrated into the writings of historians and geographers as early as Herodotus in 450 B.C. In some form, it was continued by the Roman writers until the name given to it by Hadrian, "Palestine," prevailed.

¹⁶ Names of regions allotted by Augustus to Herod's successors.

CHAPTER THREE

FROM ALEXANDER TO THE FALL OF JERUSALEM
(332 B.C.-70 A.D.)The Antecedent Pre-Alexandrian Literature

It is of paramount importance to assess the literary sources and papyri relative to the period 450-332 B.C., i.e., from Ezra's and Nehemiah's missions to the conquest of Palestine by Alexander. In Judaea itself it is a period marked by lack of literary creation and historical events.

The date of Ezra's mission to Judaea is under dispute by scholars, and is inconsequential for our examination. My own view¹ is that it originated in the reign of Artaxerxes I Longimanus in 457 B.C. Until Nehemiah's arrival in 444 B.C., Judaea was subject to an effort made by a coalition of her hostile neighbors to wipe her off the political map. Nehemiah turned her fortunes around and, by his energetic actions, re-established her as a stable and secure Persian province, Yehud. This situation lasted throughout the Persian period.

Two small diasporas were already in existence in the neighboring countries: in Babylonia, those who did not want to return after Cyrus' Edict, and in Egypt, from Jeremiah's days, and subsequently, through the establishment of Jewish

¹See The Contemporaries of Ezra and Nehemiah, M.A. Thesis at the Yeshiva Univ., N.Y. 1975 by A. Arazy.

military colonies by the Persians, such as the one known from the Elephantine Papyri.

What did the world know about the three concentrations of the Jews, and what was the appellation by which they used to designate them? A few famous historical personages and the Elephantine Papyri throw some light on this period.

1. Pythagoras

The Greek philosopher, who lived 582-507 B.C., travelled and visited the peoples in the East. His visit to the Jews--whether the Judaeans in Judaea are referred to or the Jews in Babylon are meant--can reasonably be placed in the middle of his life span, ca. 540 B.C., i.e., before or after the Edict of Cyrus. On his voyage and exploration of the Jewish teachings, Porphyry (third century A.D.) reports in his work, "The Life of Pythagoras," in the name of another writer, Antonius Diogenes:

Diogenes says, that Pythagoras also went to the Egyptians, . . . the Arabians, the Chaldaeans, and the Hebrews. learned from these peoples, the interpretation of dreams, and was the first to use the divination through drugs. . . .^{1a}

Porphyry's quote of an earlier Greek writer apparently expresses not Pythagoras' own words, transmitted over a period of 800 years, but rather the usage of Porphyry or of Diogenes in their own time.

^{1a}In a fragment from "The Life of Pythagoras" by Porphyry; Reinach's text #83. Stern's text #250. See (16), (17), pp. 30, 31 *supra* for the two authors quoted in this chapter, henceforth.

2. Herodotus

The famous historian of the fifth century B.C. who is called the "father of history" and who so well described in The Histories, the history, customs and religion of the peoples he visited, and the administrative organization of the lands of the Persian empire, traveled and described what he saw and heard of the peoples in the region. His visit falls approximately in 450 B.C., as appears from the fact that his book was read in public in Athens in the year 446 B.C.² The Jewish community of that time was mainly concentrated in Judaea around Jerusalem. Herodotus apparently traveled on the coast on his way from Phoenicia to Egypt, and his notions about the peoples in the region of Palestine which he describes, cause difficulty to scholars.^{2a} The "Jews" are not mentioned by their name but are implied by his descriptions.

a. The Syrians of Palestine. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge of themselves that they learned the custom [of circumcision] from the Egyptians (The Histories, II, 104).

b. From Phoenicia to the boundaries of Gaza the country belongs to the Syrians, known as "Palestinian": from Gaza, a town I should say not much smaller than Sardis . . . the seaports belong to the King of Arabia (Ibid., II, 44).

Three conclusions can be drawn from these passages:

a. Although in his time the administrative name of the region was the Aramaic name Abar Nahara and "Yehud" was part of it, the Greek speaking world took no notice of it,

²The Histories, op. cit., Introduction p. 1.

^{2a}See Stern, pp. 2,3.

and continued to call the region Phoenicia, Syria, and the southern part "Palestinian Syria" (Συρία ἡ Παλαιστίνη). Consequently, the name of the people is for Herodotus "The Syrians of Palestine."

b. Herodotus confuses the custom of circumcision and ascribes it to local population, Philistines and others. By tradition, they are, however, uncircumsised (Arelim). The provenance of this practice from the Egyptians is another inaccuracy. On the contrary, all his notions imply that he was referring to the Judaeans.

c. As early as 450 B.C., a tendency prevailed already in the Near East to see in the peoples living in the Syrian conglomerate, tribes of the Syrian nation, and the regions--part of the land of Greater Syria.

3. Aristotle

Aristotle, (384-322 B.C.) Alexander's teacher, knew the land as Palestine. He writes on the Dead Sea:

If there were any truth in the stories they tell about the lake in Palestine (ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ) . . . a lake in which a man when bound and thrown into it does not sink beneath the surface. . . .

(Meterologica II, p. 359a)

Clearchos of Soli (Cyprus), a disciple of Aristotle, is quoted by Josephus as telling the following anecdote directly from the mouth of Aristotle. Speaking to his entourage on the precepts of rhetoric, Aristotle told them about a certain man he had met and to their questions he replied:

Well, that man was a Ioudaios from Coele-Syria. These people are descended from the Indian philosophers. These

philosophers, they say, are in India called Calani, in Syria by the territorial name of Ioudaioi. For the district which they inhabit is known as Judaea.
(Contra Apionem, I, 176-83)

In Aristotle's time, when this episode was recorded, there was almost no Jewish dispersion yet effected in Syria or Anatolia. The Diadochi Wars had not yet started, and Jewish slaves were not yet sold on the slave markets. Therefore, this testimony refers either to the pre-Alexandrian conquest or to the very early days of the Macedonian rule in the Near East. From the two above sources, we learn the following:

In Aristotle's days the Greek world already identified the Judaeans, or for that matter, any Jew living in Syria--by the name Ioudaioi, the locative-regional appellation derived from the region Judaea. Nothing was known of the other two appellations Hebraioi or Israel.

4. The Elephantine Papyri

By this name is designated a corpus of documents discovered in 1909, pertaining to a Jewish military colony in Upper Egypt, on the island of Elephantine (Yeb), in the second half of the fifth century, the period of Nehemiah's term as Pacha of Yehud and its extensions, before and after. The documents quoted below were written in Aramaic, and the appellation Yehudai is similar in its spelling to that in Ezra and Daniel. (The letters quoted and their numbers are from Cowley's edition.)³

³A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century (Oxford: 1923).

In letter #30, dated 407 B.C., the petitioners, members of a "Jewish" military colony under Persian command in Egypt, petitioned the governor of Yehud, Bagoas, for permission to rebuild their destroyed temple of "Yaho" in Elephantine. They called themselves Yehudaiei (lines 22, 26). They claimed that this temple predated Cambyses' invasion of Egypt (522 B.C.) (lines 13-14). Indeed, the package of papyri contains many documents and contracts (between Jewish and non-Jewish parties), in which the residents of this colony and their military units are called Yehudaiai (letter #9, lines 1-2): ". . . Mahsiah ben Yedoniah a Yehudai from Elephantine. . . ." They are sometimes also identified as "Arameans": "Yedonia an Aramean of Syene" (letter 14, 440 B.C.), "Mahsiah Bar-Nathan and Yedonia Bar-Nathan, 'both Arameans of Syene' of the Degel Varizat" (letter 12, 410 B.C.). Would this indicate that although they are observers of the cult of Yaho, they arrived in Elephantine not directly from Judaea but were recruited into the Persian army somewhere in Syria? The events being closer to Herodotus' lifetime, they confirm that at the end of the fifth century, the Jews were called in the area both Yehudain and "Syrians" (=Arameans)^{3a}. They also testify for the first time in history that "Jews" in the Diaspora had a double appellation: 1) by the region of their provenance: Syria (=Aram); 2) by their religious-cultic affinity: Yaho-Yehudai.

^{3a}The equation of "Syrians" to "Arameans" is expressed in the Septuagint translation in the third cent. B.C. See note 1, p. 2 supra, and p. 88 infra.

The Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods

Few Greeks in the pre-Hellenistic period ever managed to learn very much about the Judaeans. We have already seen that in Herodotus' time little was known of them outside Palestine. Alexander, who traversed Asia as far as India and talked with the leaders of the peoples in Egypt, Babylon, Iran and India, had not visited Jerusalem, although Aggadoth to this effect state that he had.⁴ When Ptolemy I acquired Palestine in 301 B.C., Judaea was a small hill-state around Jerusalem, called Yehud by the Persians, and its people Yehudain (in Aramaic). Seleucus, who ruled Babylonia, had among his subjects another section of the "Jewish" people, the Yehudain of Babylonia, Media and Assyria⁵ who had lived there for almost two hundred years. In addition, there was the military colony of the Yehudain in Elephantine, in Egypt.

Yehud was administered under the Persian satrap of Abar-Nahara by a High Priest, who exercised his semi-autonomous rule over the small temple-state. Gaza and the coastal plain were not "Jewish." The land of Samaria was inhabited by a mixed race who worshipped Yahweh in Shechem and were called "Chuteans" (Kutim) by the Judaeans. To the south, the Idumaeans (Edomites) occupied southern Judaea as well as the

⁴Yoma 69a; Midrash Leviticus Raba Parasha 13; Scholion to Megilath Taanith, H. Lichtenstein's edition, H.U.C.A., VIII-IX (1931-32). Comment on "the Day of Gerizim" i.e., the 21st of Kislev; Klausner, Historia, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 100.

⁵Their residence there is reflected in the Books of Jonah, Tobias (Tobit), and Susanna.

land south of the Dead Sea. East of the Jordan lived Arab tribes (already mentioned in Nehemiah through their ruler Geshem), and the Nabateans.

The colonization process started by the Hellenistic Diadochi in the provinces conquered by Alexander, inaugurated an era of coexistence of peoples of Macedonian and Greek origin with the local populations. Palestine was no exception. New cities were built,⁶ consisting preeminently of Macedonian-Greek elements, tinged by a small percentage of the local populace, generally called Syrians.

The name "Syrian" (Syros), is generally used by the Septuagint as the rendering for the Biblical term Aramean.⁷ Just as the Bible knows of many lands by the name Aram (Aram Naharaim, Aram Damesek and Aram Zoba), the Greeks saw in that great conglomerate called Syria, many "Syrias," e.g., Coele-Syria, Syria Proper, the Palestinian Syria (spoken of by Herodotus already in 460 B.C.). The people whom we call "Jews" in this study were seen by the newcomers to the region of Palestine and by their rulers, as a tribe of Syrians (in the geographical-locative sense) who observed a particular monotheistic religion. Those who were closer to the centers of the massive residence of the Judaeans knew more particulars about the strange cultic observances of that people.

⁶The crop of new or Hellenized cities in Palestine is abundant: Ascalon, Azotus, Gadara, Dora, Straton's Tower, Ptolemais, Scythopolis, Pella, and the other cities of the Decapolis in the later period.

⁷See Introduction, note 1.

In contradistinction to the Syrians' polytheistic religion and public open ceremonials in the temples, seasonal feasts and games, the religion of the Judaeans was not only monotheistic but separatistic in the social plane, and particularistic and mystic in its observances. The observance of sabbath, the dietary laws, the interdiction of intermarriage with neighboring peoples, are only a few of the many features which have made the Judaeans, in the eyes of the new Hellenistic settlers and rulers, a very distinct people. Since the center from which this strange cult emanated was Jerusalem, the capital of Judaea, the Greeks could have designated them--by analogy with the appellation of other peoples--by their city: "Jerusalemites," on the model of Athenians, Romans, Carthaginians, Troyans, Ephesians. But the tradition inherited from the Persians, the Aramaic appellation Yehudai, prevailed. The Greek arrivals and the Hellenistic rulers, both Seleucids and Ptolemies, adopted the Aramaic word to make it sound Greek, and thus the people of Judaea were called Ioudaios-oi.

The analysis of the literary sources will be done for each national-religious and linguistic sector separately: the Greco-Roman, and the Jewish. Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin are the languages in which these works were written.

A. The Non-Jewish Sector

1. Greek-Writing Authors

- a. Theophrastus. A disciple of Aristotle (387-288 B.C.) deals with the Jews in the same way as his contemporary

Clearchus. Quoted by Porphyry in his work De Pietate, in context of a research into the practice of sacrifice of animals by the "Jews," he identifies them as a part of the Syrian nation.

καὶ τοὶ Σύρων ὧν μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 θυσίαν ἐτι καὶ νυν , . . . (The Syrians of whom the
Ἰουδαῖοι constitute a part, also now sacrifice live vic-
 tims according to their old mode of sacrifice. . . .)⁸

b. Megasthenes, a contemporary of Seleucos Nicator (302-288 B.C.), knew of the Jews what Aristotle and Clearchus knew. His work, Indica, is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria in Stromata 1:15:

All the opinions expressed by the ancients about nature are found also among the Indian Brahmins and others in Syria among those called Ἰουδαῖοι.⁹

Like Theophrastus, he sees the Jew as a part of the Syrian nation.

c. Hecateus of Abdera. A historian who lived in the times of Alexander and Ptolemy I at the turn of the fourth-third centuries B.C. Josephus quotes him and at the same time engages with him in polemics on his concepts of the Jewish people and their customs. Writing about the Jews in Egypt, he says that they were expelled by the Egyptians as hated aliens together with some Greek tribes. While the latter settled under their leaders Danaus and Cadmus in Greece, the "Jews" (Ἰουδαῖοι):

. . . were driven into what is now called Judaea, which

⁸M. Stern, Texts, Text #4; For Clearchus, see p. 84 supra.

⁹Ibid., Text #14.

is not far distant from Egypt and was at that time utterly uninhabited. The colony was headed by a man called Moses, outstanding both for his wisdom and for his courage. On taking possession of the land, he founded, beside other cities, one that is now the most renowned of all, called Jerusalem.¹⁰

Writing about the monotheism of the Jews, Hecateus shows some familiarity with the text of the Pentateuch, for so he concludes:

And at the end of their laws there is even appended the statement: These are the words that Moses heard from God and declares unto the Jews (Ioudaioi).

The work of Hecateus comes down to us in a citation by a later historian, Diodorus Siculus (Aegyptiaca, Book XL, 3), who says: "Such is the account of Hecateus of Abdera in regard to the Ioudaioi." Here is a historian who testifies to an intimate knowledge of the fundamentals of Moses' Law, although not accurate in all areas, who did not yet have access to a written translation of the Pentateuch in Greek. The appellation Ioudaios used here by Hecateus, both for his contemporary "Jews" and those of the thirteenth century B.C., as well as the omission of any references to "Israel" or "Hebraios" in the early Biblical period, is very significant.

The Septuagint's translation was only begun fifty years later. One has, therefore, to assume that Hecateus' information originated directly from Jewish contacts in competent circles, although his comments may be tinged by other ideas which he absorbed from non-Judaeen sources. If we add

¹⁰Ibid., Text #11, Aegyptiaca, apud Diodorus Siculus, XL, 3. Emphasis mine. The second quote, ibid.

to this the absence of any knowledge of the two other appellations by Aristotle, Clearchus, Theophrastes and Megasthenes, we can definitely say that the Greek world, until 300 B.C., had no idea of them, and that "Ioudaios" represented the combination of two concepts: (1) A man who originates from Judaea, and (2) an observer of the cult of the temple of Jerusalem.

d. Berossus. A Babylonian priest of Bel, a historian who lived in the first half of the third century B.C., a contemporary of Antiochus I. His work is quoted by Josephus in Contra Apionem I, 130 ff. As a Babylonian, he knew the well established name Ioudaios, and, speaking of Nebuchadnezzar's wars, he lists the Jews in the ranks of the prisoners: "the Ioudaioi, and Phoenicians, and Syrians, and those of Egyptian nationality." But what is significant here again, is that even when referring to the pre-Persian period he knows nothing of "Hebrews." He, as well, sees in the Jews a different national entity than the Syrians.

e. Manetho. Flourished in 300 B.C.; an Egyptian historian and priest at Heliopolis under the first two Ptolemies, I and II. On their advice he wrote the history of the Egyptian kingdoms from antiquity down to 323 B.C. His work is quoted by Josephus in Contra Apionem, and his opinions on the Jews in Egypt and as a nation in general are the most ancient expression of anti-Jewish sentiment, and are bitterly opposed by Josephus. He makes the statement that the Hyksos, after their expulsion from Egypt, crossed the

desert to Syria, "where they built a city in the country now called Judaea and gave it the name Jerusalem." Though he does not refer to the Jews in referring to the Hyksos, he seems to do so by implication. Josephus testifies that he quotes Manetho's own words (C. Ap., I, 74-91). Manetho says that his history is based on sacred documents of the Egyptian temples. No reference is made by him to the Hebrews, so prominently figuring in the Exodus story and the dialogues between Moses and Pharaoh, or the "Israel" which is mentioned in the stele of Merneptah.

Referring to Moses, Manetho has only this to say:

It is said that the priest who framed their constitution and their laws was a native of Heliopolis, named Osarseph after the God Osiris, worshipped at Heliopolis; but when he joined his people [at the expulsion of the Hyksos], he changed his name to Moses.¹¹

Manetho knew then a few basic facts about Judaea, Jerusalem and Moses; however, he does not designate the Jews, as Ioudaioi although all other historians, Hecateus and Berossus, do so. And this despite the fact that a significant diaspora existed already in Egypt since the first Ptolemies (slaves, new settlers, military servicemen).

f. Agatharcides of Cnidus and Polybius are the two writers who lived in the period of the struggle between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. They were both contemporaries of the Maccabean revolt, a time when the name Ioudaios was gaining political and military weight, both in the Oikoumene and with the Romans.

¹¹Josephus, Cont. Ap., opus, cit., I, 250.

(1) Agatharcides is quoted by Josephus in Contra Apionem I, 205-11, and in Jewish Antiquities, XII, 5-6. These two quotes are different versions of his statement, criticizing (or ridiculing) the Jews for their custom not to fight back an invading enemy on a Sabbath. The Jews are called in one statement (C. Ap. I, 209): "The people known as Ioudaioi, who inhabit the most strongly fortified of cities, called by the natives Jerusalem." But the other statement is significant in its usage; for the first time in literary history, the term "a nation called Jews" (ἔθνος Ἰουδαίων λεγόμενον) appears:

There is a nation called Ioudaioi, who have a strong and great city called Jerusalem, which they allowed to fall into the hands of Ptolemy [son of Lagus], by refusing to take up arms and, instead, through their untimely superstition submitted to having a hard master.

(Jew. Ant., XII, 5-6)

(2) Polybius of Megalopolis, the historian of Antiochus the Great, is quoted by Josephus as using the same appellation of the Jews: "τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος . . ."

(a) . . . Scopas the General of Ptolemy, set out for the upper country and during the winter subdued the Jewish nation (τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος).

(This, speaking of Paneon in 201-200 B.C.)

(b) And after the battle of Raphia:

Antiochus took Batania, Samaria, Abila, Godara and after a short time also came over to him those Ioudaioi who live near the temple of Jerusalem. . . .

(Jew. Ant. XII, 135-36)

We notice that the term "ethnos ton Ioudaiōn" is used for the first time by historians who are contemporaries of the Maccabean Revolt. We can easily deduce that in the

measure that the military and political prestige of the Mac-
cabees grew and their favors were sought by the Romans,
Seleucids and Ptolemies, the appellation Ioudaios started to
gain a respectable status in the Mediterranean world.

g. Alexander Polyhistor was a Greek writer from
Miletus, brought as a slave to Rome, where Sulla freed him in
82 B.C. He was a contemporary of Pompey and was captured in
Jerusalem in 63 B.C. His history books are quoted many times
by Josephus. Our interest is in his work Peri Ioudaiōn, of
which only fragments have survived and are quoted by Eusebius.
The glory of the Hasmoneans was already dwindling. The frag-
ments show that Polyhistor knew the history of the Jews'
beginning with the Patriarchal age, for he mentions the story
of the sacrifice of Isaac exactly as told in the Bible. He
refers to the Jews in all their history as Ioudaioi and does
not know of "Hebrews" or Israel. However, Stern quotes an
entry by a tenth century compiler of classical Greek works,
Suidas (Stern, "apud Sudas");¹² in it, Suidas reports that
Polyhistor wrote a work in which a "Hebrew woman Moso" is
mentioned:

"And about Rome [Polyhistor wrote] five books in which he

¹²Stern, op. cit., quotes from Suda. Columbia En-
cyclopedia 1968, gives only the following entry" "Suidas:
name of a Greek Lexicon-encyclopedia, also applied to its
compiler, who seems to have lived in the tenth cent. A.D.
The text from classic Greek works and the commentaries,
though mostly derived from late and corrupt sources, preserve
much of the information about Greek literature that would
otherwise be lost." (underlining mine)

states that there lived a Hebrew woman Moso, who composed the Law of the Hebrews." (M. Stern, Text #52)¹³

This statement is so contradictory to the serious approach of Polyhistor to the Jewish history and Biblical traditions that it must be taken as one of the signs of the expressions of mocking and calumnies against the Jews, started in the literature of the first century B.C.

h. Diodorus Siculus, the historian of the first century B.C., wrote a history in forty books ending with the Gallic Wars. Some of his writings pertaining to the Jews are based on Hecateus of Abdera, the historian of the fourth century B.C. What is significant in Diodorus' usage of the Jewish appellations is that he is the contemporary of the early Roman rule in Judaea, and of Herod the Great. He

¹³The argument of Stern in footnote on p. 163, that Alexander Polyhistor may have been the first Pagan writer to substitute Hebraios for Ioudaios seems to me undefendable for the following reasons: (1) this is not a direct quotation from Polyhistor but a secondary source testimony from an author, a compiler of the tenth century, whose sources may have been corrupt, and, as in the case of Pythagoras--where Porphyry, the transmitter, uses an appellation of his own choice--the case with Suidas might be the same. The mockery would then not be Polyhistor's but Suidas'. (2) Even if we are to assume that Polyhistor made the usage quoted, the context in which it was made does not refer to a real usage in the formative or static phases of this appellation as earlier defined by us. The woman being named a "Hebrew" and a "law-giver," naturally, her contemporaries have to be "Hebrews." The most we could claim to learn is that in the first century B.C. the notion of Moses' legislative activity among a nation of "Hebrews" was beginning to gain attention in the intellectual circles of the Greco-Roman world, a fact which will be attested to by many other sources. The phenomenon of referring to the ancient ancestors of the Ioudaiois as "Hebrews" indeed multiplies from the first century B.C. onwards.

includes Moses in the list of the great Legislators: Minos, Licurgus, etc. As Agatharcides and Polyhistor, he uses the term "ethnos ton Ioudaion" for the Jewish nation.

Speaking of what the Egyptians told about the Jews, he says:

. . . and that [land] of the nation of the Colchi in Pontus and that of the nation of the Ioudaioi which lies among Arabia and Syria. . . .
(The Historical Books, I, 28:2)

This is a clear geographical definition of Herod's Judaea, although in 31:2 he says that Joppa is situated in Coele-Syria.

Referring to Moses "who referred his laws to the God invoked as Iao"--he calls his people by their contemporary appellation, the Ioudaioi.

Writing about Antiochus' Epiphanes' campaign against Jerusalem, he says that his advisers counseled him

(1) to wipe out completely the race of the Jews (to genos tōn Ioudaion), since they alone of all nations avoided dealings with any other people and looked upon all men as their enemies."

(2) . . . the nation of the Jews (ethnos tōn Ioudaion) had made their hatred of mankind into a tradition, and on this account had introduced utterly outlandish laws: not to break bread with any other race not to show them any good will at all.

(Book XXXV, I, 1-3)

Diodorus lived in a time when Pharisaism and the rule of the Sanhedrin were at the peak of their development. Yet he as well never used the other two appellations of the Jews, neither in reference to the present, nor to the past.

Diodorus also testified that Aristobulus was called King of the Ioudaioi, while noting that in the earlier period,

by the authority of the Roman Senate "they were to be free and autonomous, their ruler being called High Priest, not King." He thus establishes the fact that in the Roman political vocabulary the appellation Iudaeus - Ioudaios expressed an identity of a Judaeen who observed the cult of the Temple of Jerusalem.

The two outstanding writers of the Herodian-Augustan period are Nicolas of Damascus and Strabo, the Cappadocian. Both are quoted abundantly by Josephus, and their writings prove again that in their time, the two other appellations were unknown to the pagan writers.

1. Nicolas of Damascus, 64 B.C. to the beginning of the first century C.E. A great historian, he wrote mainly the histories of the ancient peoples of the Near East. Fragments only remain of his works. Our interest lies in the passages referring to Abraham and Moses. As a counselor and friend of King Herod, he surely was acquainted not only with the Hellenistic culture but had many contacts in the religious institutions of the Judaeans, and undoubtedly would have read the Septuagint. He, however, referring to Abraham¹⁴ does not know of his "Hebrew" appellation. Moses is for him the lawgiver of the Ioudaioi, not of the "Hebrews," nor of Israel.¹⁵ Striving to legitimize Herod's kingship over the

¹⁴Josephus, Jew. Ant., Book I, 159-60.

¹⁵Ibid., I, 95. "Ho Ioudaion Nomothetes", the Lawgiver of the Judaeans.

Judaeans, Nicolas says that Antipater's ancestors were of the "first Judaeans" ("genos ek tōn protōn Ioudaiōn") who arrived in Judaea from Babylonia.¹⁶

For Nicolas to be a Ioudaios in a Roman province is as natural as for him to be a "Hellen" in Syria; and in this character he defended the rights of the Jews in Asia Minor in their dispute with the Greek cities before Agrippa in 14 B.C. (Ant. XVI, 27ff.). He, as well as the earlier historians, sees in the dispersed Jews a branch of the ethnos tōn Ioudaiōn.¹⁷

J. Strabo the Cappadocian, 64 B.C. to 25 C.E., was both a historian and geographer. Most of his lost historical works are in the parts concerning Jews--preserved in Josephus' writings. But the main source of our analysis of the appellation of the Jews in his time and in the areas he traveled are his books, The Geographies. He represents the period of the principates of Augustus and Tiberius and the transition from Herod to the early Roman procurators in Judaea.

Strabo calls the Jews in Egypt Ioudaioi even when he refers to the period of the early time of the establishment of the temple in Heliopolis--in the "land of Onias" (Ant. XIII, 284-87). The same applies when speaking of Jews in other parts of the Oikoumenē. He refers to the Jews of Cos,

¹⁶Compare note 14, Ch. Two; Josephus, Jew. Ant., XIV, 8-9.

¹⁷M. Stern, Texts, op. cit., Text #97, p. 254.
 "... The representatives of the 'whole Jewish nation' accused Archelaus. . . ."

Asia Minor and Alexandria as having public treasures designated for the temple in Jerusalem (Ant., XIV, 111-13).

Of Cyrene he says that Ioudaioi constituted one-fourth of the population (in Sulla's time), and notes, that in general--

This people has already made its way into every city and it is not easy to find any place in the habitable world which has not received this nation and in which it has not made its power felt. (underlining mine)

(Ant., XIV, 114-18)

In the forties of the first century A.D. the first large scale anti-Jewish riots erupted in Alexandria in the time of Philo. Strabo's testimony on the situation of the Jews in this Hellenistic city is important in the analysis we shall make of how the appellation Ioudaios turned around from respectability to contemptibility. Speaking on the "expansion of the organized groups of Jews which observe their national Jewish laws (tois patriois tōn Ioudaiōn nomois), he says:

In Egypt for example territory has been set apart for a Jewish settlement, and in Alexandria a great part of the city has been allocated to this nation. And an ethnarch of their own has been installed, who governs the people and adjudicates suits and supervises contracts and ordinances, just as if he were the head of a sovereign state. (underlining mine) (Ibid.)

In his Geographies, Strabo, writing at a time when Judaea was already, for all practical purposes, an integral part of the rearranged political and administrative map of the Roman Near East, gives expression to the new realities. "Some writers" start to see now in the Ioudaioi "one of the tribes" of the Syrian conglomerate.

Some writers divide Syria as a whole into Coele-Syrians, and Syrians and Phoenicians, and say that four other

tribes (ethn1) are mixed up with these, namely, Judaeans, Idumaeans, Gazaeans and Azotians. . . .
(The Geographies, XVI, 2:2)

After describing the various regions and cities of the area (which, by the way, he nowhere calls "Palestine"), he speaks of Jerusalem as the metropolis of the Judaeans (Geogr., XVI, 2:28), and comes to a conclusion which is not based on investigation of Jewish sources or authorities but rather on views held by the authors of the anti-Jewish literature of his times in Egypt and elsewhere.¹⁸ Referring to the mixed stock of the region's population, he says:

. . . the most prevalent of the accredited reports in regard to the temple of Jerusalem represents the ancestors of the present Judaeans, as they are called, as Egyptians. Moses, namely, was one of the Egyptian priests and held a part of Lower Egypt, as it is called, but he went away from there to Judaea. . . . [he] persuaded not a few thoughtful men and led them away to this place where the settlement of Jerusalem now is.
(underlining mine) (Geogr., XV, 2:34-41)

Although Strabo praises Moses as the establisher of a good government and religion (which--according to him--was later corrupted by the priests), he does not differ from Manetho in his concept on the origin of the Jews. But while the latter was an Egyptian priest presenting the view of the native Egyptians, Strabo writes in a period of turbulent activities in Jerusalem, and after the Septuagint and many Apocryphal books were already circulating in the Oikoumenē. It is strange that he has not made contact with any learned Jew and he never heard of the Hebrews or Israel. He knows

¹⁸Apion, Posidonius, Apollonius Mollon, Cicero.

well that "the present Judaeans, as they are called" are not the same as their ancestors, but they are just one of the tribes of the region with a particular cult initiated by the "Egyptian Priest" Moses. Such were the views on the appellation Ioudaios in the Roman Empire on the eve of the disintegration of the Judaeian autonomous cultic institutions.

k. Plutarch. The great historian of the first century A.D., who was a contemporary of the period of the destruction of the Temple and lived until the times of Hadrian, reflects the views on the Jews in their most critical period in history. As most of his references to the Jews are in the context of events that predate 70 A.D., his record will be analyzed in this chapter.

(1) The Sabbath observance is seen by him as superstition. He repeats the charge made by earlier writers on the Jews' abstention from defensive wars on a sabbath (apparently referring to the attack of Ptolemy Soter on Jerusalem):

But the Ioudaioi, because it was the Sabbath day, sat in their places immovable while the enemy were planting ladders against the wall [of Jerusalem] and capturing the defences, and they did not get up, but remained there, fast bound in the superstition of one great net.

(De Superstitione) (Stern Text #256).

(2) Plutarch distinguishes between Syrians and Ioudaioi.

(3) In "The Life of Anthony," Plutarch does not make a distinction between Antigonos the Jewish King (Antigonon tōn Ioudaiōn) and Herod (who according to Jewish tradition was an Idumaean by birth and at best a proselyte)

whom he also calls "Herodes ho Ioudaios" (c. 61 and c. 71). It is apparent from the Greek formula that Ioudaios is used here as an adjective and not as a proper noun, and has the force of a man whose land of origin is Judaea. On the other hand, it is consistent with Dio Cassios' view that the term Ioudaios is accorded even to men of different race who follow the Laws of the Jews. (Stern Texts, #264)

(4) Reference to the Ancient Hebrews

In a symposium held in Euboea, the participants discussed the merits of Judaism and Jewish customs (the God of the Jews, their feasts and food customs). In all the debates the appellation Ioudaios is used¹⁹ except for one particular case.

In Question 6, "Who is the God of the Jews?" the term "Hebrew" is used by the participants of the debate of the mysteries of the Jewish religion. One of them, Lamprias, is asked:

Are you enrolling your national God in the calendar of the Hebrews (tois Hebraion) and insinuating into their secret rites "him of the orgiastic cry, exciter of women, Dionysus, glorified with mad honors"? Is there actually some tradition that demonstrates identity between him and Adonis?

(Stern Text #258, p. 557)

The whole discussion centers around the similarities of the Jewish feasts like Tabernacles and even the Sabbath with the festivities of Bacchus. It would appear that the term used by them emphasized the awareness of the partici-

¹⁹Text #258, Stern, Problem V, passim.

pants in the dialogue, about the origin of the feasts of the Jews: the ancient Hebrews.

Plutarch is the first among the Greek-writing authors originating from Greece proper (born in Cheronea, Boetia, ca. 46-120 A.D.). He was a priest at the temple of Delphi; he was the first to testify about the awareness of the intellectual circles in the Hellenistic world that the religion the Jews were observing in the middle of the first century A.D. had its origins in a people called Hebraioi. This, however, does not indicate a real usage of the appellation in practical life.

(5) Another usage of Hebraioi is made by Plutarch in quite a different context, this time in a contemporary historical one. He speaks of Cleopatra's polyglotic capacities in communicating with other peoples in their own language, unassisted--

Whether they were Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Hebrews (Hebraioi), Arabians, Syrians, Medians or Parthians.
(underlining mine)(The Life of Anthony, 27:4)

This usage of "Hebrews" is unusual because speaking of Antigonus II (whom Anthony beheaded), Plutarch designates him as Ioudaios (ibid., 36:3-4), and in another instance the Syrians are listed alongside with the Ioudaioi as the two contemporary nations of the Near East: "See the opinions held on gods by Ioudaioi and Syrians"; (De Stoicorum Repugnantiis, Stern, Text 257).

Considering the two usages, if seen in the context of the spiritual atmosphere of the first centuries B.C. and

A.D., when the struggle between Judaism and its offshoot Christianity, on the one hand, and the pagan cult on the other, came to a sharper clash, one can say this of the usage of the term Hebraios: The interest of the higher circles of pagan society, including politicians, writers, historians, and learned men, in the historical background of the Ioudaioi, in their homeland and their diasporas, led to the emergence on the literary scene of the awareness that the Hebrew language was that in which their literature was written and that it was the language of the learned Jews.

Thus, while Plutarch may use the term Ioudaios as a political term, while speaking of their ancestors he labels them Hebraioi, and speaking about Cleopatra he apparently referred to the contemporary Ioudaioi--if the case be--that they knew not a current language but would master only the language of the Hebrews.

2. Latin-writing Authors

The Latin writers knew the Iudaei from the political contacts between Judaea and the king of the Jews, on the one hand, and the great number of Jews they found in the Hellenistic lands that were conquered and turned into Roman provinces. The latter Jews were called Ioudaioi by the local populations --as we have seen--on account of their link with the Judaeian Temple cult, and the special privileges and right to lead a life in an organized community in accordance with the laws of their forefathers.

While the Greek written literature expresses in most

cases a rational and realistic appraisal of the Jewish nation and Jewish individual, and is a product of the humanistic approach of Aristotle and early Alexandrian Hellenism, the Latin writers began at the time of Pompey, when brutal force started to be applied to the "barbarian" tribes--among them the Judaeans--in order to impose a Pax Romana. Hence, their violent reactions to the strange customs of the Jews.^{19a}

a. Cicero, 106-43 B.C. The greatest orator of Rome, and active politician in the period of Pompey and Julius Caesar, has given expression to the trend of hatred against the Jews that started in the first century B.C. His remarks come from the speeches he made in the defence of his client Flaccus, who as propraetor, ruled the province of Asia. His remarks against the Jews contain condemnation of the Jewish religion as "barbaric superstition," and of the dispatching of the half-shekel contribution to the Jerusalem Temple (Aurum Judaeorum) by the Jews of Italy, and of other Roman provinces. In his speech, the Jews of Italy and the Diaspora are called Judaei, just as the Judaeans in Judaea; their common religion is stressed and the link between the two branches and the loyalty of the Diaspora to Jerusalem through their annual contribution of the "aurum Judaeorum" is emphasized. He calls this "the odium of the Jewish gold" thus implying that it is opposed to the public interest (Stern, Text 68, pp.196-7).

^{19a}

Opinion of Klausner. See Historia, op.cit. Vol.V, p.4 who discusses Cicero and the causes of the hatred of the Roman aristocracy towards the Jews.

Cicero, however, distinguishes between the Jews and Syrians. Iudaei and Syroi are two different nations but his appraisal of both of them is very low: "themselves peoples born to be slaves." (Stern, Text 70, pp. 202-03)

b. The Poets of the Augustan Age. Rome was the metropolis of the Empire, where many races and slaves of all provinces of the Orient settled. Their customs and cultic observances irritated many of the high society, and to this the poets gave expression. The largest element of these "undesirables" emanated from the Syrian region, now again--in the eyes of the Romans--being designated as Syria or Palestine. The Jews in Rome, those in Roman provinces, and those in Judaea, are designated by different appellations.

(1) Horace, 85-8 B.C. In his poems (Text 127 of Stern), Horace implies criticism of the Iudaei (of Rome) as being very zealous in their missionary efforts. He also ridicules the credulity of a Iudaeus Apella (a Roman), and knows about the observance of three Jewish precepts: Sabbath, the New Moon, and circumcision. But in general, he is not hostile to the Jews.

(2) Ovid, 43 B.C.-17 A.D. Although he refers to the Jews of Rome in his time, he calls them "Syrian Jews" (Iudaeus Syrus), or, the "Syrians of Palestine" (Palestinus Syrus). Both appellations are made with some ill feeling towards those strangers in Rome who observe the seventh day feast (sabbath). (Ovid, Ars Amatoria, Stern, Texts 141, 142)

c. Pompeius Trogus, end of first century B.C.-begin-

ning of first century C.E. Author of a history of the Macedonian Hellenistic states, which has not survived but has been epitomized in the fourth century by Justin. His comments on the antiquity of the Jews and his usage of their appellations are of special interest. His work "constitutes a combination of different versions: a Biblical version, a Damascus version, and a hostile Greco-Egyptian version."²⁰ All three have left their imprint on the appraisal of the Jews and their origin.

The Jews who revolted under the Hasmoneans against Demetrios, he designates as Iudaei. But writing on the origins of these Jews, who, he maintains, are from Damascus, he introduces the appellation "Israel" in an unusual context. According to him, among the ancient Kings of Damascus were-- among others--Abrahames and Israhel.

But a felicitous progeny of ten sons made Israel more famous than any of his ancestors. Having divided his people in consequence into ten kingdoms, he committed them to his sons, and called them all Iudaei, from Judas who died soon after this division.

(Stern, Text 137, pp. 335-37)

The other particulars about Joseph, Moses and Jewish customs are a mixture of unhistorical fables. Among them, the Egyptian version that as a leper, Moses was expelled together with the Jews out of Egypt. In certain particulars, he follows Nicolas of Damascus' tale about Abrahames. But even though he had heard about the tradition of the ten

²⁰M. Stern, Textes, op. cit., p. 332; Introduction.

tribes and the name of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, he knew nothing of the Hebrews and the usage of "Israel" in the Jewish cult. In his view, the appellation of the Jewish people as Iudaei originates in the period of Jacob's children. (Jacob is not known to him, and no historical dates are even implied.)

d. Seneca the Philosopher. A contemporary of the last decades of the Judaeen state. He speaks acrimoniously of the Jews, their religion, and the spreading of their customs in Roman society:

Meanwhile the customs of this accursed race have gained such influence that they are now received throughout the world. The vanquished have given laws to their victors.
(underlining mine) (Augustinus, De Civitate Dei VI, 71)

He condemns the practices of the Jews in the observance of the Sabbath as a waste of time and a factor of idleness in life. So does he see in the lighting of the candles of the Sabbath a mere superstition, one of the many of the Jewish religion.^{20a} (Stern Text #188).

e. Pliny the Elder. A naturalist and geographer, died 79 A.D. His works refer, therefore, to the Judaeans and Judaea of the last days of their statehood. His geographical descriptions reflect the realities of the period, and the appellations he uses do not indicate any particular approach.

f. Quintilian. A Roman writer of the second half of the first century. He is--even more than Seneca--bitterly

20a

See note 19a. Klausner's opinion is that imperial authorities, and the upper class of Rome's society were pervaded by such feelings.

accusing the Jews of being "a race which is a curse to others," and Moses of being the founder of Jewish superstition. His diatribe--although written after the fall of Jerusalem--voices the standing that the appellation Iudaeus enjoyed in Rome in the aftermath of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple:²¹ hostility and contempt.

g. Martial. A Roman poet of the second half of the first century. He is very outspoken in his anti-Jewish feelings and mainly ridicules the circumcision and the low qualities of the Jews. He is bitter about the favorable treatment Jews are given in Rome and speaks of them with great contempt.²²

Conclusion

In the period of the fall of Jerusalem, most Roman writers, through their literary expressions, initiated the trend of contempt for the appellation Iudaeus, both for the Judaeans and those Jews living in the Roman provinces.

Anti-Jewish Writers

The Causes of Anti-Jewish Sentiment

Since the Jews started to settle among the pagan populations of the Hellenistic Oikoumenē, they attracted the attention and curiosity of their neighbors by their unusual

²¹ Ibid., p. 513, Introduction to Text #230.

²² Ibid., Texts #240, 241, 245-246.

cultic and social customs. In Antiquity, each nation and city had its own God. Therefore, the fact that the Jews had their own national God was not strange to the non-Jewish observers. But what was curious and difficult to conceive was the Jewish intolerance towards others by denying the existence of other deities. The Hellenistic world asked itself the question, why the Jews who acquired citizens' rights in the cities do not respect and revere the Gods of the city as all others do. Why do they interdict the placement of the statues of the Olympian Gods in their temples and refuse the attendance of non-Jews at the ritual ceremonies in their sanctuaries? The Greeks thought that the Jews, through excess of unjustified pride, had appropriated to themselves the universal God and made him their own exclusive property.

When the Jews later coupled their religious particularism with the refusal to take part in the cults of the divinity of Caesar, their tactics seemed to border on open revolt and treason. From this sentiment springs the first wave of anti-Jewish literature.

In the sphere of social behavior, the Jews evoked no less objection and hate among the peoples of the Oikoumene by their particularism and separatism caused through the observance of the Mosaic law. While Hellenism tended to fuse all the peoples and encouraged syncretism of all their Gods, the Jews alone refused to join in this general trend and insisted on and stuck to their ancestral heritage. Not only did they ask

for isopoliteia but also for special privileges "to live in accordance with the customs of their fathers."²³

Their daily practices of separatism were manifest in such acts as not to eat with pagans "aliens bread" (Path Akum, Nokhrim), certain rules of impurity relating to wines and fruits, refusal to participate in the public games and gymnasiums, separatism in marriage, separate judicial institutions "court of aliens" versus "court of Israel" (Beth-Din shel Goyim--Beth-Din shel Israel).²⁴ And so, wherever the Jews settled among the Greeks and Romans, they, by their isolation and concentration in a tight community--in order to be able to execute conveniently their religious commandments and communal observances and customs--became the object of their neighbors' envy, which gradually turned into hate, despisement, and indignation. Such was the case with the masses who were also fed by the anti-Jewish writings of many Greek and Roman writers.²⁵

1. Famous Anti-Jewish Writers in Antiquity

Among the ancient authors who wrote, about the Jews, mostly for polemical purposes, are:

²³Antiochus the Great is the father of this formula in the Hellenistic world (Jos., Ant., XII, 138). It was later followed by the Romans. See Ant., XIV, pp. 159ff. where a list of 22 decrees of such privileges is cited and expanded in XIV, 26. Philo, through a letter of King Agripas to Gaius, provides amplification of the privileges in the Augustan period. (Ad Gaium, 281 ff., 311 ff.)

²⁴A well-known term in Talmudic literature. See G. Allon, Toledot, op.cit:Vol.I p.134; (Tosephta Yeb. פ. ה' ג' א')

²⁵Note 18 above, and Seneca and the Latin Poets.

a. Posidonius. A Greek-writing historian of the first century B.C. His anti-Jewish writings have not come down to us directly and they are mentioned only by Josephus in Contra Apionem as having been used later by the anti-Jewish writer Apion to calumniate the Jews. Josephus attacks Apion bitterly, and is amazed that Posidonius could have written such "lies." He refers to Apion's assertion--on the authorities of Posidonius and Apollonius Molon --that when Antiochus Epiphanes entered the Holy of Holies of the Jerusalem Temple, he found an ass' head which the Jews worshipped in great reverence, the head being made in gold and worth a high price; "as such it was discovered by Antiochus. . . ."26

The next anti-Jewish fable, still related to Antiochus' entry into the Temple, is that of a man whom he found there, a Greek, who told him that he was a victim of the Jews' practice:

The practice was repeated by them annually (for the sake of a Jewish law . . .) at a fixed season. They would kidnap a Greek foreigner, fatten him up for a year, and then convey him to a wood, where they slew him, sacrificed his body with the customary ritual, partook of his flesh and while immolating the Greek, swore an oath of hostility to the Greeks.²⁷

Both stories were apparently well received by the masses as perfectly reasonable and credible. Hence Josephus' amazement that such ideas could have emanated at all from Hellenistic writers, and his bitter attack on them.

²⁶Josephus, Cont. Ap., II, 80.

²⁷Ibid., II, 95.

b. Apollonius Molon, early first century B.C. (time of Sulla, the Roman politician) born in Caria and later active in Rhodes. He knew Jews from both these places. Among his famous pupils in Rhodes were Cicero and Caesar. He wrote "A diatribe against the Jews," some fragments of which are preserved in Josephus' and Eusebius' works. He was a source of inspiration for Apion, and his opinion of the Jews is extremely negative.

Some of his statements on the life of the Patriarchs are quite faithful to the Biblical sources, yet he does not name the people by the appellation relative to those periods "Hebrews" or "Israel",²⁸

c. Lisymachus, a Greco-Egyptian writer, who lived in Alexandria at the turn of the second and first centuries, is another fierce anti-Jewish writer mentioned by Josephus.²⁹ He was a forerunner of Apion, and his charges against the Jews as a people (laon ton Ioudaiōn) had for their purpose to denigrate them in the eyes of the Alexandrians and show that, already in Antiquity, they were driven out of Egypt as a people afflicted with leprosy and other maladies. The implications were clear: The present day Ioudaioi are outcasts of society, their law-giver Moses was a perverted man, their history in Judaea is an infamous one, their city Hierosolyma has an infamous background.

²⁸

M. Stern. op.cit. Texts #46, 47 and 48. The quoters' formula does not indicate in which way Apollonius used the term Ioudaios.

²⁹

Josephus, Cont. Ap., I, 304-11.

Lisymachus sees in Ioudaioi the name of a people who bore this name in the distant antiquity (King Bocchoris, ca. 1700 B.C.). He is the first writer, though, who claims that the Jews call themselves "Hierosolymites."³⁰

d. Apion, an Egyptian grammarian of Alexandria of the first century C.E. His literary activity falls in the principates of Augustus, Tiberius and Calligula. His main work, which gave to the anti-Jewish campaign of the Greeks a tinge of scientific historical background, was a History of Egypt in which some chapters were dedicated to the Jews. His views on the Exodus and on Moses are those of the other Alexandrian writers, namely, that they were lepers, blind and lame, and social outcasts,³¹ and that Moses was of Egyptian origin. The present Alexandrian Jews being the descendants of such an inferior cast should, therefore, be deprived of the special rights which they enjoy at present. Apion's views were very influential on the populace of Alexandria, and ultimately brought on the famous anti-Jewish riots in 36 A.D. He consequently headed the Greek delegation to Gaius, in their dispute and accusation against the Jews of Alexandria whose delegation was headed by Philo, the Jewish philosopher. Apion, who was appraised in the Greco-Roman world as a scholar, succeeded in impressing his anti-Jewish theories of the inferiority of the Jews as a people, both on the higher

³⁰Ibid., 311.

³¹Josephus, Cont. Ap., II, 15-17.

spheres and on the masses as well. He was therefore the focus of Josephus' bitter attack in his book written in 93 A.D., Contra Apionem. The title implies that Apion was in his time the biggest calumniator of the people and the name Ioudaios.

Apion was, therefore, the driving force in the trend which started in the first century C.E. to denigrate the Jews and react with contempt against their alleged exclusivism, social separatism, and special privileges. This trend started after the vanishing of Herod from the historical scene and was the anticlimax to the great expansion of the Ioudaioi, both in Palestine and the Oikoumene, and the growing prestige and renown they had acquired in the Hasmonean and Herodian periods.

As regards the intrinsic value of the appellation "Ioudaios," this was a deliberate propaganda effort on a universal scale to deprive the term of its respectability and give it a definite contemptible meaning. At the end of the first century, this effort bore full fruits in the non-Jewish sector.

Apion calls the people in Moses' time Ioudaioi, although in some details of the Exodus story he shows a good knowledge of the Biblical version. It is indeed unthinkable that a man of his standing should not have known the Septuagint. However, he does not mention the two other appellations of the Jews, although his Alexandrian contemporary, Philo, was already actively spreading the two notions in the Hellenistic literary circles.

e. Chaeremon, a Greco-Egyptian writer, first century B.C. He also wrote a history of Egypt in which he discussed the reasons for the Exodus. His work is quoted by Josephus (Contra Apionem, I, 288-92). Although he repeats the allegation that the Jews (Ioudaioi) were driven out of Egypt because of their maladies and contamination of the land and temples, his other elements show a remarkable knowledge of the Biblical version. He is a contemporary of the last days of the Judaeae state; however, he does not know of Hebrews or Israel.

2. "Jewish" and "Hebrew" Used as Adjectives

In two cases the above terms are used by authors not in relation to the people of the Ioudaioi or Hebraioi but are attached to products originating from the land of the Jews, Judaea:

a. Dioscorides, middle of first century C.E. His writing is on medical subjects. Writing on the usage of products from Judaea for medical purposes, he calls the asphalt from the Dead Sea "the Jewish asphalt" (Asphaltos Ioudaikē), and a certain stone of medical properties "the Jewish stone produced in Judaea" (Ioudaikos Lithos). (Texts 181 and 184 of M. Stern)

b. Statius, a Roman poet, second half of the first century. In one of his poems, describing the usage of oriental incenses and fragrances as funeral gifts, in enumerating their variety and origin, he also lists "Palestinian and

Hebrew essences" (Palaestini simul Hebraeique liquores).
(Text 236, M. Stern)³²

We can therefore conclude our analysis of the literature in the non-Jewish sector by stating that the beginning of simultaneous usage of Hebraeus and Iudaeus has its roots in the second half of the first century C.E. The destruction of the Jerusalem Temple by the Romans may have brought about such a dualistic usage. Plutarch has shown that such a distinction between contemporary Ioudaioi and Ancient Hebrews was accepted in intellectual circles at the end of the first century.³³

The Jewish Sector

The period we are examining is known as the period of

³²Stern notes in a footnote: "This is the first time that Hebraei occurs in Latin literature and one of the first times it is used in the whole Graeco-Roman pagan literature". See our note 13, supra. Stern made a similar claim in the case of Alexander Polyhistor. We, however, analyzing the usage of this appellation in the context of the whole historical process of the evolution of all appellations in the various sectors and literatures, find that this is precisely one of the many expressions and manifestations of the maturing of the appellation Hebraios in the first centuries B.C. and C.E. This process, which was undoubtedly bolstered by the pre-Christian apocalyptic writings, ripened after the advent of Jesus, when the Christians started to refer to Hebrews in their writings (Paul, Acts). The whole question of the Old Testament's origin, the Lawgiver of the Jews, and the identity of the Hebrews, was put before the Pagan world as a subject of deep investigation. Among the users of Hebraios are Antonius Diogenes (see note 1, supra) and Plutarch (see p. 105, supra), both of the first century C.E.

³³See p. 102 ff. supra.

the Second Commonwealth. The literary creativity of the Jewish people in this period is of two origins: Palestine and the Diaspora (Alexandria, Cyrene, etc.). The Pentateuch was canonized shortly after the Restoration,³⁴ the Prophets' section had been canonized before 200 B.C.,³⁵ and the Hagiographa around 65 C.E.,³⁶ with certain books whose status was disputed, some time later (Ecclesiastes in 90 C.E. and Esther in 140 C.E.).

However, canonical status apart and dating of authorship apart. Scholars agree that some of the books were written in the period of our examination, e.g., certain chapters of Zechariah, Psalms, the book of Daniel, Jonah and Esther. For the purpose of the study of the appellations of the Jews in the period examined, we, however, have not found it of special interest to separate these works from the whole Biblical Corpus, and our remarks in Chapter One are inclusive of the above mentioned books.

The great literary creations of the period are:

1. The Septuagint
2. The Apocrypha
3. The Pseudoepigrapha.
4. The Dead Sea literature

³⁴Solomon Zeitlin, The Rise and Fall of the Judaean State, 2 vols., J.P.S. 1967, Vol. I, p. 282; G. Allon, Told Hayehudim, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 17..

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.*

5. Philo's Works
6. Miscellaneous: Early stage of Tanaitic and Midrashic Works

The languages in which these works were written are: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek. They contain all the three appellations and reflect their application both in interior and exterior usage.

1. The Septuagint

By this term, for the purpose of our study, we shall include only the Greek translation of the canonized books of the Old Testament and exclude the Apocrypha, which will be treated separately. The general concensus of modern scholars such as Bickerman, Tcherikover, Orlinsky and H. St. John Thackery is that this translation of this corpus of literature was made by the Alexandrian Jews for their own use in the Synagogues, in a gradual process and in stages, from the middle of the third century B.C. to the first century C.E.³⁷ Though it is in general very strict in its rendering of the Hebrew text, it is not free from certain variants which reflect already some Midrashic and Exegetical trends, or, sometimes, a contemporary condition.

The appellations of the Jews are generally rendered true to the Hebrew source. Thus, the non-Jewish reader in the Oikoumene could have learned--from the early days of Hellenism--

³⁷Sidney Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study (Oxford: 1968), p. 69.

about the Ioudaioi, their culture, the Hebraioi and Israel. have seen, however, in our analysis of the whole gamut of the non-Jewish writers of the period that they took no interest in it, or no notice of its content, or regarded it as unreliable material. This fact has been noted by Prof. F. E. Peters, who referring to some of the authors we have mentioned, states:

Measured by the criteria of those latter works, the Septuagint was a crushing failure. . . . down to the time of Josephus, the Septuagint was a closed book, and Hellenized intellectuals knew little or nothing about the history of those people who caused them so much discomfort.³⁸

The Septuagint served well, however, the interests of the Jews in the Diaspora, away from their homeland and yet feeling a strong link to the Temple of Jerusalem and the cult of the God of Israel. The term "Israel" is rendered in all books in its Biblical context, and for the Greek-speaking Jews of the Diaspora it symbolized their belonging to that cultural politeuma. Just as Hellas had spread out all over the Oikoumenē so "Israel" centered on Jerusalem, spread out to all the dwellings of the "Ioudaioi" wherever they were.

They themselves were identified by their neighbors as Ioudaioi--the locative appellation of the Judaeans. Therefore, the Greek-rendered appellation of Yehudi into Ioudaios in the books of the Old Testament did not embarrass them at all. However, in the rendering of 'Ibri', some problems arose for the translators.

³⁸F. E. Peters, The Harvest of Hellenism (New York: 1970), p. 299.

We have shown that this term, as far as the Jews were concerned, was in its extinctive phase since the Exodus, and its definite extinction is concurrent with King Saul's death, ca. 980 B.C. The term Hebraios in Greek was therefore a Jewish-Hellenistic rendering of a defunct appellation in the "Hebrew" language and not a real appellation of a nation--as is the case with other nations--which was recorded by historians such as Thucidides, Herodotus, and their followers. When, nevertheless some authors of the Apocrypha books (Maccabees, Judith, etc.), or Philo, Paul, and Josephus make use of it, they use a word which they found in the Septuagint and not a "living" appellation. The same is true of the Apostles and of the Church Fathers.

The few instances where the translators did not accept the rendering of 'Ibri into Hebraioi may have different reasons as they do not come from the pen of the same men, and, in addition, originate in different periods.

a. The case of "Abram the Hebrew" (Gen. 14:13). This appellation is considered by all historians and scholars to be the cornerstone of the theory of an ancient "Hebrew nation" and a source of nostalgic-sentimental-romantic inspiration for those who were looking back for a link with their ancestors. Yet the Hellenistic Jew, the translator of this book, did not see this verse in such a light and refused to accord to Abraham a standing as "the Father of the Nation of the Hebrews." Instead, he gave him only the status of an immigrant to Canaan from "Beyond the River" (Greek: Πέρα Τοταμού),

and accorded him the adjective "ho peratis" (Ἀβραμ ὁ Περαιτῆ). In this respect, he followed a non-Jewish tradition cited by Nicolas of Damascus³⁹ and the Midrashic Comments on Abraham,⁴⁰ followed even later by Philo,⁴¹ who, rather than see in him an ancestor of a nation, saw in the "Act of crossing" a symbolic action of passage from an idolatrous cult to the monotheistic concept.

The other cases pertain to different historical periods and phases in the usage of 'Ibri':

b. The Period of King Saul, which was classified by us as the extinctive phase of the appellation 'Ibri'. All the passages in I Sam. where in the Hebrew text Saul designates his people as "Hebrews" (I Sam. 13, 3, 7, 19, 20), are rendered in a different way:

(1) In 13:3, the LXX read עֲבָדִים and not עֲבָרִים ,

(2) In 13:7 they read not " וְעֲבָרִים עָבְרוּ אֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן " but "καὶ διαβαίνοντες δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ὅντος Ἰσραὴλ" but "וְעֲבָרִים עָבְרוּ אֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן" --

(3) The astonishment of the Philistine generals noticing a group of Israelites in the camp of Achish and asking "Who are those Hebrews?"--"מִי הָעֲבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה?" (I Sam. 29:3), they also treat as the case of b(2) above, and as Gen. 14:13, namely, a group of passing people. The question be-

³⁹Quoted in Jew. Ant., Book I, 160.

⁴⁰See note 6, Ch. One, supra. Although the Midrashic comments were made some centuries later, their germination is certainly in an earlier age.

⁴¹Philo's Works, op. cit., Vol. VI. The Migration of Abraham, 20.

comes: "Who are the people passing in this group?" The reply of King Achish: "This is David the servant of Saul King of Israel, etc. . . ."

c. Both the background of the book of Jonah and the date of its composition were, in the eyes of the translators, seen as falling in the extinctive phase of the appellation Ibri.

The ethnic identification of Jonah (1:9) is removed again by reading here as in b(1) above, not עִבְרִי but עַבְדִּי . Jonah's reply becomes: " Δούλος Κυρίου ἔγω . . . " "I am a servant of the Lord. . . ."

d. The Book of Esther. (The rest of the chapters of the book [of Esther]).

The Hebrew text knows only a people called Yehudim and the LXX render it Ioudaioi. But the Septuagint text contains additions in some chapters and an epilogue. These additions use the appellation Israel in classical phrasings which bear clearly the mark of a formula from the liturgical literature:

- 4:17c "to rescue Israel"
- 4:17e "for Israel's salvation:
- 4:17i "And every man of Israel"
- 4:17m "O Lord, you have chosen Israel from among all the nations"

But not only is there a change in the appellation of the Jews; Haman is also presented as Aman, son of Hamadathus the Macedonian.

In conclusion of the LXX treatment of the appella-

tions, it appears that the translators were aware of the fact that in the period between Jacob and Samuel, non-Jewish peoples living in Canaan and Egypt identified their Jewish neighbors as "Hebrews." They could not, however, conceive how Saul would have called his subjects by a name עִבְרִי which was used by the foreigners (ἄλλοφυλὸς)--perhaps contemptuously--to identify them. Although they call Joseph (Ἑβραῖος), and Moses identifies the God in whose name he appears before Pharaoh as the God of the Ἑβραίων, it may be that in the period of the Judges the Philistines' usage of the term עִבְרִי had only a connotation of hate and contempt. "הַעִבְרִיִּים הָאֵלֶּה" in I Sam. 29:3 sounds just as contemptuous as the Post-Temple-destruction expression of "הַיְּהוּדִים הַלְלוּ" "Those Jews . . ." which we shall find in the Midrashic literature.⁴² The Philistines' contempt for the Hebrews in the formative stage of the "Kingdom of Israel" by David, is at the base of the disappearance of the term עִבְרִי from all the prophets and Hagiographa⁴³. While denoting an appellation of the past, which has in the meantime acquired a contempt-bearing meaning in the mouth of the surrounding peoples, the prophets have succeeded in imprinting on their people's minds the glory-bearing meaning of the appellation Israel. The translators of the

⁴²Bialik-Ravnitzki, Sepher Ha-Agada (Tel Aviv: Debir, 1970). The authors' collection offers many samples, of various periods. For our period, see Vol. II, Chapt. 5, p. 91.

⁴³Except for the Book of Jonah.

Septuagint acted in such cases more as interpreters of ideas than literal translators.

When the Septuagint became the official Bible of the Church, the few appellations Ioudaios they found there were only of geo-political meaning (Esther, Nehemia, etc.). But in the other two appellations they found their link to the Ancestors of Israel, and as such, the appellation Hebraios obtained in the Church a new appreciative meaning. From a contemptive term used by the ancient Pagan peoples, the Egyptians and the Philistines, it was raised to the honored appellation of the Ancestors of the Jews, Abraham and his seed.

2. The Apocrypha

This is the corpus of Jewish literature written by Jews in this period in various languages and which were not deemed by the Jewish sages, for one reason or another, worthy of inclusion in the Canon. They were designated by the rabbis as "outside books,"⁴⁴ placed under a ban and were not to be read. However, their translation (when not originally written in Greek) into Greek, and their inclusion in the Alexandrian corpus of the Septuagint, made them dear to the Apostolic Fathers and the early Church Fathers, and they considered them also to be of divine inspiration.

The generally accepted modern corpus the Apocrypha is based on that of Jerome (fifth century A.D.). It consists

⁴⁴Zeitlin, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 292; Allon, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 171. Both bring the Talmudic definitions of the term. Modern scholars subdivide them in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

of 14 books or part of books: (1) The First Book of Esdras, (2) Tobit (or Tobias), (3) Judith, (4) The Rest of the Chapters of the books of Esther, (5) The Wisdom of Solomon, (6) Ecclesiasticus or Ben-Sira, (7) Baruch, (8) A letter of Jeremiah, (9) The Song of the Three, (10) Daniel and Susanna, (11) Daniel Bel and the Dragon, (12) The Prayer of Manasseh, (13) The First Book of the Maccabees, (14) II Maccabees.

As a general rule, it is fair to say that the authors of the Apocrypha followed the narrative-prophetic style of the Bible, and as such, most sentimental outpourings of their hearts go to the God of Israel, and the references to the people, its hopes, its sufferances, are always to Israel. However, Nehemiah had already set a precedent in using the term Yehudi in a geopolitical meaning; the authors of the historical Apocryphal books therefore did the same, in the context of narratives of persecution of Jews. The appellations of the Jews used by these authors depend, therefore, on the genre of the narrative: moral story, wisdom literature, history, philosophical subject.

In this period we notice, however, also a slow return to the usage of the appellation Hebrew-Hebraios by some authors in certain contexts. We can generally characterize them as sentimental outbursts and a nostalgic trend of glorification of the past, as a means of relief in time of national crisis and foreign oppression.

With these general notes we can look for particular cases of interest in the usage of the three appellations.

a. The author of First Esdras knows the realities of the time, and calls the lands of Abar-Nahara by their Greek names, Syria Phoenicia (8:23). He is, no wonder, realistic about the language of Artaxerxes' Charter to Ezra, and while the Old Testament Hebrew texts make the king address it to "the volunteers from the people of Israel," he, the author, says it was addressed to those of the nation of the Ioudaioi (8:10).⁴⁵ Elsewhere he follows the appellations of the Old Testament with no change.

b. The Book of Tobit, written between the fourth and second centuries B.C., shows the strong attachment of its author to the Biblical formulas of affection for Israel and the usage of the concept of the solidarity among men belonging to the Jewish faith: "Our brethren Benei Israel" (Long version, 5:5, 9).

c. The Book of Judith, whose affection for Israel is also very strong, is, however, conspicuous in its usage of the appellation "Hebrews." Its original language is assumed to be Hebrew, and the date of authorship the end of the Persian period (Artaxerxes III Ochus, 358-38 B.C.).⁴⁶

It should be noted that the admiration of this woman and her heroic deeds, both by the Jews (desire to declare a "Judith Feast," similar to the Hannukah and Esther Feasts),

⁴⁵In connection with this rendering, see our comment in note 18, Ch. One, supra.

⁴⁶Kahana, Ha-Seph. Ha-Hitz., op.cit., Introduction to Judith, Vol. II, pp. 352-53; R.H. Charles, Apocr. and Pseudoep. Vol. I. pp. 148-49.

and by the Christian Church, would indicate the deep historical roots that the personality of Judith and the events she participated in had in the above stated epoch, when the prophecy had already disappeared from Israel but "remnants of its flame still persisted from ancient times."⁴⁷

To this setting may be attributed the few occasions in which the author, despite a general affectionate usage of "Israel" for the name of the people of Judith, uses the term "Hebraios." This pre-Hellenistic work knows the people of Judaea as belonging to an entity called Israel, although politically the country is a Persian region called Yehud, and they are called Benei Israel by the author. However, because of the latter's defiance of the royal order, the foreign invaders hate them along with the earlier haters of the "Benei Israel."

After Holofernes' head has been cut off by Judith, Bagoas, his eunuch, cries out in indignation and contempt:

The slaves have betrayed. A shameful deed has been committed by "a woman of the Hebrews" against the house of King Nebuchadnezzar! . . . (14:18)

Earlier, Judith herself presents her credentials to the royal guard as "a daughter of the Hebrews" fleeing from them (10:12). Consequently, when Holofernes tries to win her favors, he asks Bagoas (12:11) to persuade the "Hebrew woman" to accept his invitation and join him at a night party.

The author's message is that "Hebrew" is, in the con-

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 352, end of paragraph.

cept of foreigners, an appellation of contempt linked to the state of slavery of the ancient Hebrews. On the other hand, for the beleaguered Jews, longing for a sign of relief and delivery, a miracle through the act of a courageous daughter of the people, the term Hebrew incorporates heroism, courage and devotion. The external and internal usages have, therefore, different meanings. However, both agents do not reflect a revival of usage of "Hebrew" as a nation but rather, emotional usages diametrically opposed in their meanings. This author is the first in the pre-Alexandrian period to revive the usage of "Hebrew" in such meanings. In its positive one, he is the harbinger of this new trend in Jewish Hellenistic literature.

d. The most brilliant literary creation of the period, which although ultimately placed outside the Old Testament Canon, enjoyed a highly respectable place even among Talmudic scholars, is the Book of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus). The author is considered a contemporary of Simon the Just,^{47a} and his book is written in the style of the O.T. wisdom literature. From the point of view of the appellations, he does not refer to Hebrews or Judaeans, and generally following the Biblical language and the spiritual and moral tenets of the prophets, his favorite appellation of the people is Israel—strongly coupled with Jacob (24:8, 36:11, 44:5). His concept of Israel as it was held in the pre-Hasmonean times is expressed in a few very strong verses:

^{47a}

Ca. 200 B.C., and a contemporary of Antiochus III.
See Zeitlin *The Rise and Fall*, Vol. I, p. 68.

For every nation he appointed a ruler
But Israel is God's portion.

(17:16)

Gather, O, God all the tribes of Jacob
And grant them their inheritance, as in the day of old,
Have mercy on the people which is called by thy name,
Israel whom thou hast named thy first born. (36:11)

What is conspicuous in Ben Sira from the point of view of the appellations, is his low-key attitude to Abraham, the all-acclaimed progenitor of the Hebrew race or nation. While in the chapter "Praise of Our Fathers" almost every Jewish ancestor or historical figure gets a share in Ben-Sira's laudatory appraisal, Abraham gets only an epithet of "the Father of many nations," but nothing is implied to make his belonging to a Hebrew tribe respectable! (44:19) In Hellenistic Judaea of the pre-Maccabean Revolt, the spiritual leaders of the community continued the tradition of the prophets Ezra and Nehemiah and refused to accord to the concept of "Hebrew" ancestry a special status in the national scale of values.

e. The Books of the Maccabees are historical books. I Maccabees was written by a Palestinian Jew after the death of John Hyrcanus ca. 105 B.C. in the form of a record of historical events. The two appellations, Ioudaios and Israel, are equally used by him, each in a different area: "Israel" as internal usage, "Ioudaios," as external one. Even the wicked and the enemies are designated as "the wicked from among Israel" (6:22), and "the hater and enemy of Israel."

As we have pointed out in the cases of the earlier usage of Yehudi by historical figures of the Babylonian-Persian periods, the Maccabees turned politicians, had to use

the "real-political" terminology, and thus Ioudaios became the political name of the people fighting the Hellenistic Syrians.

(1) The first usage of the term Ioudaios is indeed in an outstanding political setting: Judas Maccabeus sends an embassy to Rome in order to enter into a military alliance with the Romans. "It would be good for the Romans and the nation of the Judaeans (Ioudaiois)" says the epistle they carry with them (8:23).

(2) The second usage is again made in political circumstances. Demetrios writes to Jonathan about privileges he is willing to accord to the nation of the Jews not only in Judaea but to "all the 'Ioudaioi' who live in my kingdom" (10:36). He repeatedly addresses the people as the "nation of the Ioudaioi." (11:31, 32; 13:37)

(3) Jonathan uses Ioudaioi again in diplomatic language when he sends new embassies to Rome and Sparta (12:3, 6). The Spartans, on their part, know the political realities, and, in return, address the Jews (whom, by the way, they find out to be brethren by common descent from Abraham) as "the Spartans and the Judaeans." (12:21)

(4) Simon Maccabee becomes a political figure, head of state, and maintains a correspondence with foreign rulers. On all occasions, both parties call the people the Ioudaioi. He is even entitled the Ethnarchos of the Judaeans (14:47). However, all Maccabees, when turning to their own

people or family, use the appellation "Israel." Simon speaks to his two sons and says to them:

My brothers and I, and my father's family have fought Israel's battles from our youth till this day, and many a time have we succeeded in rescuing Israel. (16:2)

f. The Book II Maccabees, although of the same genre as I Maccabees, is different in its style and in its author's concepts. It is written by a Hellenistic Jew named Jason of Cyrene, of which we have only the epitomized version made by the so-called "Epitomizer," between 124-110 B.C.⁴⁸ Its original language--according to Jerome--is Greek.

This author mostly uses Ἰουδαῖοι for "Jews". But when describing the polemical debate between the youngest martyr-son (of the "mother and her seven sons") and his inquisitors, he uses "Hebrew" for the people of the martyrs (II Macc. 7:31). He does this again in the laudatory ending of his book in Chapter 15:38:

And since those days the city was in the hands of the Hebrews, and with this I shall end my story.⁴⁹

The Septuagint version uses as well, in both cases, Ἑβραῖοι. We have before us the first case from the Hellenistic period, when a Jewish author, writing out of his own pride and for the glorification of his people, use again the term "Hebrew" conspicuously, in the positive and prideful sense. This can be explained as a reaction to the

⁴⁸V. Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews (Philadelphia: J.P.S., 1959), p. 383.

⁴⁹Kahana. Haseph. Ha-hitz, op. cit., II Macc. 15:38 (Hebrew Text)

Antiochian hellenization campaign, when the whole power of the Seleucid king was used to suppress and uproot the hated people of the Ioudaioi, the Law of the Ioudaioi, and make of their city Jerusalem an Antiochian Polis. The term "Hebrew" may point here to taking pride in the ancestry of the people and the Law of Moses for which the young boy was dying (7:31). The Cyrenian Jew, who uses the term Ioudaios both for Jews in the Diaspora and those in the Land of the Maccabees throughout his book, is suddenly overcome with emotion in the two climactic cases: (1) the martyrdom for the sake of the Law, (2) the final reconquest of Jerusalem from the Hellenizers. In his daily life and political comment, his people are: The Jews-Ioudaioi. In an emotional reaction, they become Hebrews --Hebraioi.

The remaining books of this group do not contribute any remarkable material to our investigation.

3. The Pseudoepigrapha⁵⁰

This name designates a group of books spuriously ascribed to various prophets and kings of the Hebrew Scriptures. Their reading--like those of the Apocrypha--was forbidden to the Jews. In the Mishnah they are a part of the so-called "outside books". Their nature varies from apologetic to apocalyptic, and they emanate from unidentified authors,

⁵⁰See note 44 supra.

50a
 mostly Jewish, but who may also be early Judeo-Christians. Their dating falls between the second century B.C. and the first century C.E. Written in various languages, they were preserved mostly by the Eastern Christian Church. They contain:
 (1) The Book of Adam and Eve, (2) The Books of Enoch, (3) The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, (4) The Book of Jubilees, (5) IV Esdras, (6) The Letter of Aristeeas, (7) II and IV Maccabees, (8) The Sybilline Oracles, (9) Psalms of Solomon, (10) miscellaneous small works.

As a general rule, all authors of the above works write in Biblical style in whatever language they wrote. The appellation "Israel" in their work is marked with the same affection which it had for the Biblical authors, while the other two appellations are rarely used. We shall, therefore, consider only the characteristic usages of the latter two, Hebraios and Ioudaios.

The Romantic Trend

The romantic trend in the writings of Jewish authors looking back to the past of their people in an endeavor to find consolation for their present misfortunes in the glorious past of their ancestors is expressed by two formulas: (1) the designation of the ancestors and contemporary heroes by Hebraios, and (2) the linking of their generation to Abraham and calling themselves "The Seed of Abraham." This trend finds expression in the first century C.E., before the destruction of the Temple, and it reflects the turbulence of the decades between Jesus' appearance and 70 A.D. Among the

50a

See discussion of the Sybilline Oracles, p. 139, infra.

authors who present such a view is that of IV Maccabees, written by a Hellenistic Jew. He exhorts the Jews in the Diaspora to observe the Law of Moses and be devoted in its observance and self-sacrifice to the limit of martyrdom. Its date of composition is suggested by Bickerman to be the first half of the first century C.E., and it is based on Jason of Cyrene's account in II Mac. Apparently, the same motives that drove Jason in II Mac. to use "Hebrew" in certain cases prevailed over this author. Apolonius in the "Court of the Gentiles" of the Temple appeals to the "Hebrews" to pray for his safety after being struck by the angels from heaven (4:11).

Antiochus compels each one of the "Hebrews" to taste the swine meat (5:2), and one "Hebrew," Eleazar the Priest, a respectable old wise man, was the first to be given some ideological treatment by Antiochus (5:4). After his failure with Eleazar, Antiochus orders other "Hebrews" to be brought forward. In a series of defiant rejections of Antiochus' bid to them to approach and eat the swine meat in order to save their lives (9:6, 19), all the sons accept martyrdom for the Law of Moses with great sacrifice, being exhorted to do so by their mother in the Hebrew language (12:7, 16:15). The emotional author states that it would have been worthy to write an epitaph on the graves of all the martyrs in the following words:

Here lies a holy elder, and an old woman with her seven sons, slain by a brutal tyrant, who planned to destroy the "Politeia of the Hebrews," and those have saved the

nation lifting up their eyes to God and preferring martyrdom until their death. (17:9)
(underlining mine)

It is noteworthy to mention that this author does not call the Jews as a people "Ioudaioi." Only twice does he term their religion as Judaism, or "the religion of the Jews" (4:26, 5:6). In his concluding exhortation to his fellow Jews, drawing the moral teaching of his story (18:1), he addresses them "You sons of Israel!" (Παῖδες Ἰσραηλῖται). And speaking of the Divine protection of his people, he again calls them "Israel" (17:22).

It would appear that here again, just as in the case of Jason of Cyrene in II Mac., we have a case of an emotional outburst of the author aiming to link the martyrs of the Hellenistic period to the acts of sacrifice and martyrdom in the ancient Biblical times, in particular, the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, and Daniel, Azaria and Mishael in the lion's den (16:20-22). The reward of the martyrs will be the same as Abraham's, Isaac's, and Jacob's (16:25). They are of "Abraham's seed" (18:1, 21, 23), and the mother and her seven sons will be gathered into the company of the Patriarchs (18:23).

"The Seed of Abraham"

Both Jewish and early Christian authors saw in this formula a counter term to the Hellenistic community. If Bickerman is right, and IV Maccabees was composed in the first century, we have two other sources who are his contem-

poraries, who use the same formula: the author of the Psalms of Solomon and the Apostles.

In the Greek text of IV Maccabees, the Greek-writing author for the first time substitutes for the Hebrew term "ירע אברהם" a new concept relating to the descendants of the stock of Abraham which he coins "Ἀβραμῖτης" (παῖδας τῆς Ἀβραμῖτιδος) (18:21). Both terms designate a politeia.^{50a}

Next, he also coins an adjective, "the Abrahamic children" (=οἱ δὲ Ἀβραμαῖοι παῖδες) (18:1, 23). This strengthens the argument that the author makes an emotional effort to link the martyrs and all those who oppose Hellenization to the exulted stock of the ancient devoted believers in God, the community of the "Abramites." This Greek name for the Jewish entity is nothing else but an opposition to the term "Hellas," in the name of which Hellenism was being imposed by the tyrants. We thus have the creation of two diametrically opposed concepts of a people linked to its culture and religion, the "Abramites" defending Judaism and the Hellenes trying to impose Hellenism on them.

The same phenomenon we observe in the Psalms of Solomon, written originally in Hebrew in 45-70 A.D. by a Jerusalemite Jew of the sect of Hasidim,⁵¹ well versed in the Holy Scriptures. Although he generally uses "Israel" as his term of identification of the Jewish people, he has coined one term which is a synthesis between Israel and Abraham:

⁵¹Kahana, Haseph. Ha-Hitz, op.cit. Vol.I, pp.431-34. Introduction to Psalm's Solomon's.

^{50a}Abramitis and the genitive form Abramitiōos, are of the linguistic form of Hellas and Hellados.

"ἡ ἀγάπῃ σου ἐπὶ σπέρμα Ἀβραὰμ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ"--"Your love for the descendants of Abraham, the sons of Israel" (18:4).

John (8:33, 37) says: "we are descendants of Abraham," and the motive is repeated by Paul (Galeitians 3, 6-16), who discusses who are the true "sons of Abraham."

The transition of the usage of Hebraios from a Jewish emotional designation to that of actual designation of early Jewish converts to Christianity is perhaps implied in the single usage available in the Sybilline Oracles. Only in Book III is there a mention of "Hebrew." According to J. Reider,⁵² verses 63-98, in the context of which the term is used are from the first century A.D. of an unknown authorship, Christian or Jewish. Reider says that the Sybilline Oracles are a remarkable effort to imitate the prophets of Israel. The villain from Sebaste "will mislead many men: 'faithful and chosen Hebrews,'⁵³ as well as wicked men. And other men who have not yet listened to God's voice " (Lines 63-70).

From the fact that the author expresses sympathy with the "faithful Hebrews," it can be reasoned that he was a Jew. He tries to imply that the faithful and chosen Hebrews are linked to the ancient stock of Abraham, the chosen. Thus, this usage here would be more of a symbolic nature than actual and contemporary. There is, however, another possibility. In our treatment of the New Testament literature,⁵⁴ we

⁵²Kahana, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 379.

⁵³Ibid., p. 382.

⁵⁴See Chapter Four, pp. 188 ff.

indicate that the term "Hebrew" was used by the Early Christian Church to identify the new converts from Judaism to Christianity, those who had not yet severed all ties with their past. These circumcised Christians still needed some persuasion that their step was correct and their non-circumcised co-religionists expressed their sympathy for the "Hebrews" by praising the stock of Abraham. If that be so, the usage of "Hebrew" by this author points to his belonging to the non-Jewish camp and it supports the opinion that the extensive usage of "Hebrew" in the "post-70A.D." period is all of non-Jewish provenance.

4. The Dead Sea Literature

The corpus of literature known by this name was discovered between the years 1947 and 1962 (earliest by Sukennik, latest by his son Yadin). The finds, inasmuch as we are concerned with original literary creation of the pre-70 A.D. period or with papyri etc., are of two types: (1) books of the Qumran Sect, and (2) documents from Massada, the Cave of Murabaat, and of Nahal Hever.

a. The major works of the Qumran Sect are: (1) Manual of Discipline, (2) Rule of the Congregation, (3) The War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, (d) Thanksgiving Psalms.

This group, written in the particular Hebrew of the first century B.C. and C.E., is generally written in Biblical style, and all its references to the people are

"Israel." Not a single usage is found of "Hebrew" or Yehudi.

b. In contradistinction, the finds of Wadi Murabaat in 1953, which have been analyzed by J. Milik and those later discovered by Yadin in other caves contain fragments of legal and historical documents. However, their dating is of the Trajan-Hadrian period. Comment on them will be made in Chapter Six.

5. The Works of Philo

As the intellectual representative of the greatest Diasporal center at the metropolis of Hellenistic civilization Philo's attitude to Hebraios, Ioudaios and Israel are representative of the view of the Hellenized Jews of his generation.

Philo Judaeus (the name he was known in ancient times) was born ca. 20 B.C. and died in 41 A.D. He lived in Alexandria and was a devoted Jew. He immersed himself deeply in the interpretation of the Pentateuch (Torah) in order to explain the Mosaic Law in the light of Hellenistic philosophy. In a certain way it may be said that his works are an early "Midrash" on the Scriptures, although different from those of the homiletic Midrashim in Hebrew. In addition, the troubled years of the post-Augustan period in Alexandria and the anti-Jewish outburst of the Alexandrian mobs and rulers against the city's immense Jewish population, forced him to take up actively the cause and defense of his people against its attackers and calumniators. His feelings in this matter are the subject of his two famous apologetic books, In Flaccum

and De Legatione ad Gaium. All his works are pervaded with a deep love for his Jewish heritage, his ancestors and the conviction of the superiority of the Law over pagan beliefs.

Philo occupies a prominent place among Hellenistic religious thinking. Disregarded entirely by the rabbis--in the Talmud he is never mentioned -- he is though admired by the Church Fathers. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius and Jerome, all see in him the man who tried to reconcile Greek Philosophy with Judaism. His main treatises contain an interpretation of the Pentateuch illustrated by passages and comments coming from the rest of the Old Testament and at the same time from Greek philosophy. Only the two afore-mentioned treatises are different in their nature. They are both biographical and powerful invectives against the oppression of the Jews in Alexandria, and the emperor Gaius.

For our study of Philo's usage of the appellations, we shall proceed with a selection of excerpts from his works.^{58a} Surely, "Ioudaios" is the socio-political appellation of the Jews in his time. But he cannot escape the feeling that the Jews are a physical incorporation of a higher spiritual concept, "Israel" which fatefully binds together all the Jews in all generations and all countries of their dwelling. On the other hand, "Hebraios" is only a term of the past, to designate the progenitors of the Jewish nation, and he is not very strict in the usage of this term. Sometimes he follows the Biblical sources, in other cases not.

^{58a}

Philo, Works. 10 Volumes L C L.

Having made this general comment, we shall proceed to illustrate his particular usages.

a. Hebraios

(1) That Philo did not think of this term to designate a name of the ancient Jewish nation is evident from a passage in which--as scholars point out in certain other of his Biblical comments--he adopts a view similar to that of the Rabbis. He says about Joseph in Egypt and his incorruptible traits:

He was proud to hold himself a member of the Hebrew race whose wont it is, as the name "Hebrew" or "migrant"⁵⁵ indicates, to quit the object of sense perceptions, and go after those of the Mind.

(The Migration of Abraham, Vol. VI, 20)

Philo explains to the non-Jews that 'ibri' means in the Hebrew language to cross a boundary, hence, to migrate into another land. We have already extensively demonstrated in Chapter One that this was the understanding of Joshua, the Septuagint, and the sages in the age of Rabban Gamliel d'Jabneh. A similar opinion is expressed in Midrash Gen. Rabba 42.⁵⁶

(2) "Hebraios" is used to denote the people who spoke the Hebrew language in the time of the Patriarchs and the Israelite tribes. This was in order to explain to Greek

⁵⁵The Greek text is in conformity with the Septuagint's interpretation of the term ibri in Gen. 14:13.

⁵⁶Midrash Gen. Rabba 42 on Gen. 14:13. כָּל הָעוֹלָם כְּנֶהְיֶה אֶחָד; All mankind were on one side and he was on the other side.

readers the meaning of certain ancient proper names such as Rebecca, Machir, etc. He uses, then, such formulas as "ὡς Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσι" or "παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλήδιν . . ." "παρὰ δὲ Ἑβραῖους . . ." ⁵⁷ In both cases, it is an all-embracing name for tribes speaking a common language--just as Aramaic was spoken by many tribes and peoples--but not that of a nation. In explaining to them the meaning of Sabbath or Pascha, he uses a more explicit formula, "their father's language" (Σαββαζον Ἑβραῖοι πατρίοι γλῶσση καλοῦσι). ⁵⁸

In the same way he explains the meaning of Jerusalem in terms of its concept "by the ancient Hebrews in their tongue":

Now the city of God is called by the Hebrews Jerusalem and its name, when translated means vision of peace.
(ὁρασις ἐστὶ εἰρήνης) (Vol. V, II, 250)

(3) "Hebraios" is used in commenting on Biblical episodes, events, and persons, sometimes in conformance with the Biblical and Septuagint usage, and sometimes departing from it.

(a) On Sabbath

" . . . the seventh day which the Hebrews call Sabbath." (Vol. VI, 28)

(b) On Joseph

The kind of character then here under discussion is called by the Hebrews Joseph, but in our (παρὰ Ἑλλήδιν) language is: "addition of a Lord" a most significant title. (Ibid.)

⁵⁷ Philo, op. cit., Vol. IV, 37, 42. "The Hebrews, (Greeks) call it."
⁵⁸ Philo, op. cit., Vol. II, 41, 145. "The Hebrews call it in their father's language Sabbath..."

(c) On Joseph's rejection of Potiphar's wife's bid.

What he said are you forcing me to do? We children of the Hebrews follow laws and customs, which are especially of our own. . . .

(d) On Moses' and Jethro's daughters: (Ex. 2:19)

And they called Moses an Egyptian. Moses who was not only a Hebrew but of the purest of the race of Hebrews.
(καταρρέατον γένους ὄντα Ἑβραίων)
(Vol. V, 117)

This comment is very similar to the Midrash Lev.

Rabba Parsha Aleph. On the other hand, Paul uses a similar ecstatic expression defining himself as Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων.
(Philippians 3:5-6)

(4) In his book De Vita Moses (The Life of Moses)

Philo uses "Hebraios" for the whole period of the people's sojourn in the desert of Sinai. However, the term Ioudaios is used as a means of explanation and reference for the contemporary reader, if and when this term has a bearing on the contemporary Jews.

The following are some extracts.

(a) I propose to write the life of Moses whom some describe as the legislator of the Ioudaioi, others as the interpreter of the Holy Laws.

(Book I,1)

(b) Moses was by race a Chaldean,⁵⁹ but was born and reared in Egypt, as his ancestors migrated thither to seek

⁵⁹Philo uses Chaldean for Aramean. Elsewhere in his works he calls the Aramaic language "χaldeαῖον" (Chaldaic); this conforming with the Biblical tradition: "A wandering Aramean was your father." (אֲרָמִי אֹנֶן הָיָה אֲבִיךָ) "Moses, being of the same stock, is identified as an Aramean-Chaldean. See also note 63 below.

food. . . . He was 7th in descent from the first settler who became the founder of the nation of the Ioudaioi.
(Book II, 225)

- (c) The Ioudaioi, as I have said before, were strangers. . . .
(in Egypt)
(Book VIII, 81)

The Hebrews thus hunted as outcasts from the Land. . . .
(after Pharaoh's decision to drive them out of Egypt)
(Book XXV, 140)

The Hebrews when the opportunity came, avenged themselves. . . .
(Ibid., 142)

Book XXXVI is full of usages of "Hebrew" in connection with the description and comments on the Exodus, e.g., "The leader of the Hebrews, Moses. . . ." etc.

(5) In the period of the Sinai Desert, Philo calls the people "Hebrews" in the incident with the Midianite women (Num. 25, 26). This is incompatible with the Biblical text and the Septuagint's version, for both use "Israel" in this case. This is a free departure and shows that Philo was not strict in adhering to the appellations given in the Bible.⁶⁰

(6) The same departure he surprisingly makes in commenting on an ageless exhortation used by Jews: ". . . מֶה
"לָבֹה אֱהִיךָ יַעֲקֹב וְשִׁכְנֶיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל" (Num. 24:5), "How goodly are your tents, O Jacob your dwelling-places, O Israel!"
Philo says: "How goodly are thy dwellings thou host of the

⁶⁰"The Arabians whose name in old times was Midianites, are a very populous nation. They were disposed to be hostile to the Hebrews. . . . They sent for the most exquisitely beautiful women and said to them: 'You see how unlimited is the number of the Hebrews, but their number is not too menacing and dangerous a weapon as their unanimity and mutual attachment.'" (Op. cit., Vol. VIII, On Virtues, 34-35).

Hebrews"! (De Vita Moses, Book LIII, 289)

- (a) Consequently, Bilaam's curses are pronounced against the Hebrews, and not against Israel.

(Ibid., L278)

- (b) The encamped people in the desert are Hebrews.

(Ibid., L276)

Philo, inconsistently then extends the usage of the term "Hebrew" even to the period after the people have entered into Canaan, and warred with the local tribes:

- (c) The Hebrews won an undisputed victory and their enemies were slaughtered wholesale. . . .

(Ibid., Book XXXIX, 219)

But the authors of the Bible already called the warring tribes in this period "Benei-Israel".

Philo extends the usage of "Hebrew" only as far as the early period of the Israelites' entry into Canaan. He is not an enthusiastic about this name as we shall find he is about Israel. He sees the progenitors of the Jewish nation as Chaldeans who crossed the River, settled in Canaan, migrated to Egypt and left it to become a nation in Canaan. Not only is Abraham a Chaldean,⁶¹ but even Moses is still so called by him (see (4)(b)above). In this concept Philo stands on common ground with the Rabbis. The fact of the crossing of the River is at the basis of Abraham's appellation as a "Hebrew"; but it has no other significance and is not a reason for calling the Jewish nation a nation of Hebrews. For Philo, as

⁶¹Ibid., Vol. VIII, 212. "The most ancient member of the Jewish nation (τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐθνός . . .) was a Chaldean by birth, the son of an astrologer. . . ."

long as the tribes are still in the pre-Monarchic period, they are called "Hebrews."

As we know from our study of Eusebius' works, the Church admired Philo, and his appellation of "Hebraios" may have been taken over by the Church Fathers. However, they have extended its usage beyond Philo's chronology.

b. Ioudaios

This term is used by Philo to designate both the Jews of Alexandria and the whole nation of the Jews, including those dispersed in the Oikoumenē. Under this Greek appellation they were known in Philo's time by the other nations and the Roman authorities. His usage, however, is only an expression of social and geo-political realities. It is the earthy matter-of-fact appellation to describe real situations, attitudes, and events of, or opinions on contemporary Jews. The following selection from his work will illustrate the above.

(1) In most of his treatises, mainly in those dealing with Biblical exposition, Philo comments on the lot of the contemporary "nation of the Jews" (τὸν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος):

(a) Conclusion on virtue:

Must we not then absolutely reject the claims of those who assume as their own precious possession the nobility which belongs to others, who (different from those just mentioned) might well be considered enemies of the Jewish nation (τὸν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος) and of every person in every place? Enemies of our nation because they give their compatriots license to put their trust in the virtue of their ancestors and despise the thought of living a sound and steadfast life. . . .

(Vol. VIII, 226)

(b) Commenting on the judgment of the alien, widow and orphan, he says:

One may say, that the whole Jewish nation (Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος) is in the position of an orphan compared with all the nations on every side. They, when misfortunes fall upon them, which are not by the direct intervention of heaven, are never, owing to international intercourse, unprovided with helpers who join sides with them. But the Jewish nation has none to take its part, as it lives under exceptional laws. Nevertheless . . . the orphan-like state of his (Moses') people is always an object of pity and compassion to the Ruler of the Universe whose portion it is. . . .

(Vol. VIII, The Special Laws, IV, 179-80)

(2) On the attachment of the Jews to the Jerusalem Temple, and their civil rights in the Diaspora

(a) In his book The Special Laws⁶² he engages in comments on the Decalogue, on the pagan beliefs and their critique. He discusses the difference between God's temple and man-made temple, adopting a positive attitude towards the Temple of Jerusalem and praising it. He describes it, its organization, administration and revenues, explains the twelve tribes and the one selected for priesthood. He then dwells on the difference between priests of other nations and those of the Temple:

Among the other nations the priests are accustomed to offer prayers and sacrifices for their kinsmen and friends and fellow countrymen only, but the high priest of the Jews (ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεὺς) makes prayers and gives thanks, not only on behalf of the whole human race, but also for the part of nature, earth, water, air, fire. (underlining mine)

(Vol. VII, The Special Laws, I, 97)

(b) In the two apologetic works the sub-

⁶²Ibid., Vol. VII, 52, 66, 71, 79.

ject is the defense of the Alexandrian Jews against their calumniators, attackers, and persecutors. From Contra Flaccum we present a selection of Philo's arguments on the nature of the Jewish nation, the Dispersion of the Jews, their attachment to Jerusalem, and their civil rights in their places of residence

- (1) For the land of the Ioudaioi cannot support many people. They (the Jews) are so numerous, that for this reason they settle in the most prosperous countries in Europe and Asia both in the islands and on the mainland and while they hold the Holy City where stands the sacred Temple of the most High God to be their mother city, yet those which are theirs by inheritance from their fathers, grandfathers and ancestors even farther back, are in each case accounted by them to be their fatherland in which they were born and reared. . . .

(Flaccus, 46)

(11) On the hostility of the Alexandrians to the Jews:

. . . (the Egyptians') ancient innate hostility to the Ioudaioi, they resented a Ioudaios (Agripas) having been made a king. . . .

(Flaccus, 29)

Reference is made here to the anti-Jewish riots organized by the mob, during Agripa's passage through Alexandria in 37 A.D., on his way to his post as king of Judaea to which he was nominated by Gaius.

(111) On Flaccus' treatment of the Jews:

A few days afterwards he issued a proclamation in which he denounced us as foreigners and aliens and gave us no right of pleading our case but condemned us unjustly.

Note Philo's strong attachment to the Jewish community through the usage of "us." He then proceeds to relate the acts of the mob, identified by "they."

From the four (out of five quarters of the City) they ejected the Ioudaioi and drove them hard in a very small part of one.

(Flaccus, 54-55)

This is the most ancient report on a ghetto!

(iv) The persecutions and plight of the Jews are then further exposed by Philo until he reaches the point when punishment is vested upon Flaccus. He expresses his belief that God cares for the Jews and that their oppressors get the ultimate punishment.

. . . the blow which fell upon Flaccus. . . . It was caused I am convinced, by his treatment of the Jews. . . .
(Flaccus, 116)

Philo reports that Flaccus himself gave expression to this belief while in the most dire suffering by exclaiming in bewilderment:

"King of Gods and men," so then Thou dost not disregard the nation of the Jews (τὸν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος), nor do they misreport Thy Providence, but all who say they find in thee a Champion and Defender, go astray from the true creed. I am a clear proof of this, for all the acts which I madly committed against the Jews I have suffered myself. (underlining mine)

(Flaccus, 170)

(v) Philo's conclusion on the nation of the Jews and their God is very explicit. Describing Flaccus' horrible death by his pursuers, he sees in it an act of justice and vengeance for the crimes he committed against the Alexandrian Jews:

Such was the fate of Flaccus also (as well as Sejanus), who thereby became an indubitable proof that the help which God can give was not withdrawn from the nation of the Jews" (Ἰουδαίων).

(Flaccus, 191, end)

(3) In the last treatise, De Legatione ad Gaium, Philo again writes about the plight of his Jewish fellow citizens in Alexandria in the time of Gaius. He combines in this work a full description of the insanity of Gaius, as shown by his announcing himself as a God, perpetrating innumerable outrages, and causing misery among the Jews of his time, of the embassy on behalf of the Jews, which he himself conducted to the city of Rome, and how he appeared before Gaius to defend the Jews and their ancestral laws; He received nothing but laughter and ridicule. Finally, he and the ambassadors "narrowly escaped and were just able to to breath again" (XLVI.369).

The spirit of the "nation of the Jews" in opposing Gaius is expressed thus by Philo: "Gaius had no right to be likened to a God or demi-God (of the Greek Pantheon)." (XVI, 114)

He looked with disfavor on the Jews alone, because they alone opposed him on principle, trained as they were, we may say, even from the cradle. . . . (Ibid., 115)

Philo explains why among all the nations of the Roman Empire who acquiesced to Gaius' demand,

One nation only standing apart, the nation of the Jews was suspected of intending opposition, since it was accustomed to accept death as willingly as if it were immortality. . . .

(Ibid., 117)

Philo's concern for the whole Jewish nation is expressed in the following terms:

. . . I was deeply disturbed and had no rest by day and by night. . . . another very heavy calamity was suddenly and unexpectedly launched upon us which endangered not

one part only of the Jewish race but the whole body of the nation.

(Ibid., XXIX, 184)

(4) The care for the fate of the Temple of Jerusalem and its symbolic meaning for all Jews is another occasion for Philo to express his spiritual concept of the corporate body of the Jews:

For what use is in vainly striving to show that we are Alexandrians, when we are menaced by the danger which threatens a more universal interest. . . . for it is to be feared, that the overthrow of the temple will be accompanied by an order of annihilation of our common name and nation. . . . (underlining mine)

(Ibid., 194)

Philo was not mistaken about the Romans. Ninety years later Hadrian carried out precisely all that Philo apprehended in his time: the razing of the city of Jerusalem and the promulgation of the Shemad laws, tending to erase the name of the Jewish people from the earth.

On Petronius' apprehensions to carry out Gaius' order and his opinion on the Jews, Philo wrote:

. . . for he knew that the Jews would willingly endure to die not once but a thousand times, if it were possible, rather than allow any of the prohibited action to be committed.

(Ibid., XXXI, 210)

Agrippa, in his letter to Gaius, strongly identifies himself as a Jew, although elsewhere (in Flaccus 39) Philo calls the former "a Syrian by birth,"

I as you know am by birth a Jew, and my native city is Jerusalem in which is situated the sacred shrine of the most high God.

(Ibid., XXVI, 278)

As for the holy city . . . she is also the mother city

not of one country of Judaea but of most of the others.
(Ibid., 281)

Agrippa proceeds to enumerate some 22 centers of the Jewish Dispersion in Asia, Europe and Africa, and to enumerate the many privileges these Jews were enjoying from the time of Augustus and before.

Philo sums up with the description of his feeling that he had about the outcome of his mission:

Surely it was a cruel situation that the fate of all the Jews everywhere should rest precariously on us five envoys.

(Ibid., XLVI, 370)

Conclusion:

Philo's feeling about the lot of the Jewish nation in 40 A.D. is not much different than that of the Rabbis in the "post-70 A.D." period. The feeling that the Jewish nation is under the special care and providence of God, and that all oppressors are expected to receive their ultimate punishment is also a repetitive theme of the Midrash in the later centuries when persecution of Jews became commonplace in hostile surroundings. Philo's concept of the Jewish nation was that it was a well-defined, monolithic body, tightly linked by the observance of the ancestral traditions and their affectionate bond and care for Jerusalem, its temple, and the people of Judaea. But all that was due to a deeper concept which pervaded all Jews of the Oikoumene in his time: Wherever they were dispersed, they formed a part of the "monolithic rock" called Israel. ^{62a}

^{62a}

See my conclusion on "the Rock of Israel" p. 162, *infra*.

c. Israel

In Philo's own words, "the Jewish nation is to the whole inhabited world what the priest is to the state" (Vol. VIII, 163). "This nation is the object of pity and compassion to the Ruler of the Universe, whose portion it is" (Vol. VIII, 180). But when his soul was deeply perplexed with the plight of his people in the days of Gaius Caligula, his expression grew more pathetic. This people--universally called Ioudaioi--is now a suppliant to God; but when a deep appeal is made by the supplicating party to its protector, invoking in its appeal the bonds and promises made to its ancestors, the name of the people becomes Israel.

. . . the Deity takes thoughts for men, and particularly for the suppliant's race (γένος) which the Father and King of the Universe and the source of all things has taken for his portion. Now this race is called in the Hebrew tongue Israel, but expressed in our tongue the word is "he that sees God."⁶³

(The Embassy to Gaius, I, 3-4.)

This name, Israel, is then in Philo's words, the national name of the people in their Fathers' language, while Ioudaios is the pragmatic name by which the Greek-speaking peoples identify Israel.

The ancestry of Israel's name goes back to Jacob's

⁶³Philo's words in Greek are: "τοῦτο δὲ γένος χαλδαῖσι μὲν Ἰσραὴλ καλεῖται, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ ἑρμηνευτέοντος τοῦ ἐνὸμαζος ὄρων θεόν." Χαλδαῖστι means Aramaic. The Hebrew meaning, however, is: "You strove with God and with men and prevailed." (Gen. 32:28). Philo departs in this case from the traditional meaning just as he did in the case of the meaning of Jerusalem. Ὀραβίς = vision, is the common symbolic component of the two names.

struggle with the angel (Gen. 32:28), and Philo gives expression of his concept in some selected passages below.

(1) Sanctification of the precious offspring of Israel. (On Num. 3:13)

We must not suppose that at that time only when Egypt was dealt that mighty blow by the destruction of her first-born did the first-born of Israel become holy. No, the lesson is that in the past, in the present, in the future that hallowing may be repeated in his soul. When the most dominant elements of blind passion are destroyed then comes the sanctification of the elder and precious offspring of Israel, who has the clear vision of God.

(The Sacrifices of Abel and Cain, Vol. II, 134)

(2) Israel--the race endowed with vision (On Gen. 6:12)

For there are two things so utterly opposed as knowledge and pleasure of the flesh. Thus those who are members of that race endowed with vision, which is called Israel, when they wish to journey along that royal road, find their way contested by Edom, the earthy one--.

(On Unchangeableness of God, Vol. III, 144)

(3) The eye of the soul whose name is Israel (On Ex. 1:11)

The eye of the soul, so pure. . . . so keen in vision, which alone is permitted to look on God, the eye whose name is Israel, is engrossed after all in the gross material nets of Egypt and submits to do the bidding of an iron tyranny. . . .

(The Confusion of Tongues, Vol. IV, 92)

(4) The oneness of Israel (On Noah's descendants)

Noah put forth from himself fair roots which bore those threefold fruits of the seeing one, Israel, that mark the threefold measure of eternity, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, for in all of them there is, has been and will be virtue. . . .

(The Migration of Abraham, Vol. IV, 125)

(5) On change of names (De Mutatione Nomina)

- (a) We shall also find that the change of Jacob's name to Israel is much to the purpose. Why so? Because Jacob is the supplanter and Israel is he who sees God.

(Vol. V, Ch. XII, 21)

- (b) It is worth inquiring why Abraham after the change of name is not called by his old name . . . whereas Jacob after he is addressed as Israel is in spite of this called Jacob many and many a time.

Philo replies: "Abraham's name was changed by God himself, and is unchangeable, while Jacob's was by an angel, and its pitch is changeable."⁶⁴

(6) On Israel and seeing God.

Speaking of Jacob:

- (a) and (God) gives him when remodelled in a new form the name of Israel--He who sees.

(De Somnis, Vol. V, I, 129)

- (b) . . . In this I have the witness of one of the ancient prophets, who under inspiration said: The vineyard of the Lord Almighty is the house of Israel (Is. V, 7). Israel is the mind which contemplates God and the world, for Israel means seeing God.

(Ibid., II, 172)

Conclusion

To paraphrase Philo's own words on Israel's place among the nations of the Oikoumene, we can say that among the three appellations of the Jews, the appellation Israel is to the other two--Hebraios and Ioudaios--as a priest to the state, as Israel to the nations. It is a name implying holiness, spiritual elevation, union with God, union with all members of the widespread Jewish communities all over the world.

⁶⁴The simultaneous usage of Jacob and Israel for the designation of the people is characteristic not only of the Torah Prophets and the Psalmist, but also for the Apocrypha and, in particular, Ben Sira. Even the Gospels follow the same approach.

Philo stands on common ground with the Rabbis.

Ioudaios is a name given to the Jewish people by non-Jews in the Greek--or, for that matter in any other--tongue. But the Jews themselves consider the name of their nation to be Israel. This differs from the Rabbis in the interpretation of its symbolic meaning. For him, Israel is the people "seeing God" or "the nation which has the vision of God." The ties between God and Israel are of a mutual nature. God is the portion of the nation (The Spec. Laws, Vol. VIII, 180), and conversely, Israel is the portion of God.⁶⁵

Philo saw in Israel--just as the Rabbis did--a chosen people by God, endowed with the faculty of vision of God, and therefore to be the tool of God for his action among mankind.

His interpretation of the role of Israel among the nations left also its imprint on the early Church. She saw in him a bridge between his vision of Israel and the new faith. The adoration of Israel is expressed in Christian liturgy. The Church, however, accorded to the term "Hebrews" much more affection than expressed by Philo in his comments on the history of the Jews from their origins to the pre-Monarchic period.

6. Miscellaneous Literature Originating in the Second Commonwealth

To this group belong (1) certain Aggadot relative

⁶⁵Compare Psalms 28:9, "O save thy people and bless thy own portion. . ." Also, Ben Sira 17:16, "Ve-nahlath Adonai-Israel" (and the portion of the Lord is Israel).

⁶⁶Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., op. cit., Vol. I, Book VII, IV, p. 117.

to the "pre-70 A.D." period, although their written record is from a later date, and (2) parts of Megillat Taanith (Scroll of Fasts),⁶⁷ which relate to historical events before 70 A.D.

After searching for usage of the three appellations in this genre of literature by the authors of popular legend or semi-historical recorders, we can definitely say that the form 'Ibri is not found at all. The other two are used, sometimes separately, other times jointly in the same context, in a way that indicates instantly to the reader or listener that the appellation Yehudai in its Aramaic form does not enjoy the same status as that of "Israel."

A few words about Megillat Taanit. It is a compendium of the days in which the Judaeans had either scored victories over their adversaries or were relieved from other forms of persecution, or on which oppressive decrees were abolished. On such days fasts were forbidden.

Its authorship is attributed to a certain Jerusalemite Sage, Hannaniah ben Hizkiah ben Garon, one of the teachers of the Zealots in 67 A.D., and his associates.⁶⁸ Some of the events which relate to the period of Trajan and Hadrian are later additions. The records are brief in their form and sound like authoritative historical statements made by official bodies. The Scroll, written in Aramaic, has a Scholion written in Hebrew which originates after the Tannaitic period.

⁶⁷Hans Lichtenstein in H.U.C.A., Vol. VIII-IX (1931-32), pp. 257 ff. Megillat Taanit and Scholion

⁶⁸A baraita in Shabbat 13b.

Therefore, only the Aramaic text is of interest to our period.

Only one time is the people of Judaea designated in this Scroll by the word Yehudaé. (יְהוּדָאִי)

On the 28th thereof [the month Adar] glad tidings came to the Judaeans, (יְהוּדָאִי) that they were not to be prevented from studying the Torah.⁶⁹

The Scholion which explains the event and its meaning, speaks of the people "Israel." It is therefore evident that the recorder used Yehudai here as the official political name of the people to whom the message of annulment of a previous decree was made. Yehudai is therefore a term of external usage.

The same can be seen in a few Aggadoth. One of them, relating to Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and the tripartite meeting between the Judaeans, the Chutaeans and the Macedonian king,⁷⁰ is typical of all other legends, where representatives of Jews confront foreign leaders, military commanders, dignitaries, administrators, and/or representatives of aliens or unfriendly ethnic groups; in other words, when there is a confrontation between the national interests of the Jews vis-a-vis a foreign element. In all such cases, the narrator or recorder or commentator uses the appellation Yehudai for the nation of the Jews. However, when returning to direct comment inwards, to his own brethren, he immediately switches to Israel.⁷¹

⁶⁹See note 67. Meg. Taan., Licht., p. 268.

⁷⁰Scholion to Para. 22 of Meg. Taanit; Lichtenstein, p. 270.

⁷¹See Aggadoth in Vol. II, pp. 85,86, cases (g) and (h).

C. Periodic Summary of the Status of
the Three Appellations

Our investigation stretches over a period of four hundred years. The debacle of 70 A.D. was a critical landmark in the appraisal of the three appellations for all concerned sectors: the Judaeae-Jewish, the Early Christians, the Pagan World--the Greek cities of the Oikoumenē, the Roman authorities.

During this period a phenomenon is outstanding in Ancient History: the search of other ancient peoples to find out who the Ioudaioi were. What was their ethnic origin? Who was their Lawgiver Moses and what were the elements of their law that made them so different from other peoples? What was the reason for their perseverance as a corpus separatum in a changing political world?

In the view of historians and intellectuals of the Greco-Roman world, this people was the only one among all known nations not to yield to any external political or moral pressure, not to assimilate other cultures and customs (except for the languages of others), not to fuse their religious beliefs with other nations; in short, not to disappear! Great empires and nations disappeared: Assyrians, Babylonians, Arameans; others voluntarily adapted to contemporary civilizations, and fusing their national customs and beliefs with those of the political master, became finally an unrecognizable element (and ultimately lost their own national identity); only the Ioudaioi persisted and succeeded in maintaining a viable national entity.

In fact, the Jewish epithet of the God of Israel, "Rock of Israel" (צִיָּר יִשְׂרָאֵל), suited this nation itself, to characterize its status among other nations. The "unknown people" was a riddle to historians and intellectuals, just as a rock is: strong, unyielding to external pressures, his interior a mystery, his fabric impenetrable. For the Jews, it had, to be sure, the same qualities which made them defensible in their ethnic survival, but, in addition, it had for them only, an invisible quality. The rock material became elastic in critical times and offered itself for adaptability to changing conditions, and so they could survive, as the "Rock of Israel," in any crisis, whatever its magnitude.

In the ancient world, disappearing nations left their names, only in historical records, clay tablets, and papyrus. The "Rock of Israel" knew well its own origins and the value of the appellations used in its own literature and in that used by aliens. But in the eyes of the "aliens" each appellation had a scale of appraisal. No appellation of other nations had been subject to periodic reevaluation. Every nation's appellation had a constant uniform value which no one doubted and no one criticized. In contradistinction, the "Rock of Israel" was an enigma to them, and the relation to its existence as such was periodically reevaluated. To adopt modern terminology, only the Jewish appellations had their "stock" listed on the "International Exchange" of ancient times. The values of Hebraios, Ioudaios and Israel were

variously appraised on this "Exchange" by all sectors with one difference from contemporary "Exchange" principles of operation: each sector appraised them differently and independently of others' appraisals. The appellations of the Jews--as a result of such an appraisal--were treated on the market of international relations as any marketable goods: desirable or undesirable.

On the eve of the great impending debacle of 70 A.D. the appraisals of the value of the three appellations could be categorized approximately in the following way, according to the views of the appraising centers:

In the non-Jewish Sector:

a. In the Greek Egyptian center, Ioudaios was hated. Appion's works based on earlier Greek writers, Posidonius, Apolon Molos, Lisimachus and Manetho, bore fruit in the first century.

b. By the Roman intellectuals, Iudaeus was hated. A strange and "accursed race."

c. By the Roman military, Iudaeus was hated. They were the sole nation to resist the Roman Empire; there was a tendency to crush it and its cult.

d. The appellation Israel was unheard of. (Except for Throgus Pompeius, in a legendary context)

e. Of the appellation "Hebraios," both the Greek and Roman sectors of the pagan world knew very little. They had only a vague notion that the mysterious cult of the Jews and their practices had their origin in an ancient people Hebraioi,

and that their law was written in the Hebrew language.

In the Jewish Sector:

a. The appellation Ibri was not used, or rather ignored, in Judaea and its literature.

b. The appellation Hebraios was revived by Jewish Hellenistic writers from 120 B.C. down to the first half of the first century C.E. This was followed in the Apocalyptic literature. The Early Christians revived the usage of "Hebraios" for practical purposes in their early congregations (see Chapter Four). Philo used it only in historical context.

c. The appellation Israel was universally used by the Jews in all their dwellings as the symbol of the indestructible "Rock of Israel;" however, in literary expression only. There is no evidence that it had ever been used as an "internal usage" appellation by individuals. In contradistinction, the sources indicate that it was used as a collective appellation in addressing the public, especially in exhortative sense.

d. The appellation Yehudai-Ioudaios was limited to political-administrative usages.

The Emergent Christian Sector

In the period 30-70 A.D., Christian literature was only in the inceptive phase. The appellation Ioudaios was beginning to undergo the appraisal from "good" to "bad." As a counter-action, the appellation Hebraios was revived with an affectionate appraisal. The appellation Israel--inasmuch as the

young Church claimed to be the True Way for the people from whose loins she emerged--was cherished by her with the same affection felt by the Pharisees.

The debacle of 70 A.D. crushed the Jewish independent nation but the "Rock of Israel"⁷² survived again. The Jews went into the new historical period with the same three appellations but with transformed meaning to all sectors. Each one obtained a new tinge and new accents were apposed to them; their new appraisal on the International Exchange of valuation of peoples was a varying function of the political and socio-religious conditions in the Oikumenē.

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See p. 162 top. The usage of this expression is not done with a view to disregard its Jewish traditional meaning, as being related to God. It is used in a paraphrastic way, only in order to emphasize the status of the Jews in the Hellenistic diaspora.

CHAPTER FOUR

FROM THE FALL OF JERUSALEM TO CONSTANTINE

(A.D. 70 - A.D. 312)

The determination of the Roman imperial and military establishments to crush the rebellion of the Judaeans by dealing them a mortal blow, is attested by Jewish and Roman sources. Josephus reports on Titus' speech to the defenders of Jerusalem, after the temple was burnt: "Isn't your folk (demos) dead, your temple gone, your city at my mercy, aren't your very lives in my hands?" (Wars, VI(6).2). Tacitus, the Roman historian of the late first and early second century C.E., tells of a council held in Titus' headquarters before the fateful decision to destroy Jerusalem was taken. Titus was among the preachers of the destruction, saying:

This will result in the abolition of the two religions, Judaism and Christianity. Although they are hostile among themselves, they have a common origin. Christians originated from among the Jews. If the root will be annihilated the stem will perish as well.

The result of the changed status of Judaea after A.D. 70 was felt not only by the Judaeans themselves, but also by the "Jews" in the Roman Diaspora. Judaea, instead of lending moral and political support to the Diaspora, became economically a liability, and politically, an undesirable ally. Although the Romans did not let their anger over the

rebellion mislead them into immediate repressive measures against the Jews of the Diaspora, such events necessarily increased the reciprocal ill-feeling. The revolts in the Diaspora in Trajan's time added to the animosity.

In the central socio-political plane of the Empire organization, the Jews were the only nation in the society which was growing consistently more and more homogeneous, who had retained their ethnic and religious integrity; they had begun to be considered as one of the greatest obstacles to complete uniformity. Under these circumstances, the hostility of local populations was easily communicated to Romans living in the various provinces. It also rose to a considerable height in Rome itself, from the moment the ways of life of this foreign group made themselves felt in the city in the circles of new converts to Judaism or early Christianity, and of the groups called sebemenoi.¹

Not a small part of the anti-Jewish sentiments spread throughout the Empire was due to the bitter feelings of the legionnaires returning home from the ferocious battles with the hated Judaeans. The combined effect of the hatred of the Roman intellectuals, the leaders of the Empire, and the populace, caused a re-evaluation of the appellation Ioudaeus in the eyes of the Romans. Its meaning tended now to represent a hated contemptible individual and nation.

¹Hebrew: יראי ה' (פשימים), = fearing the God in heaven. These people were a half step from formal conversion to Judaism.

This feeling grew in its intensity in the periods of Trajan and Hadrian (A.D. 98-138), and continued to the time of Constantine. These were short intermittent periods of relatively milder attitudes on the part of the pagans, in which a certain respectability was regained for the appellation, Ioudaeus, as happened in the period of the Patriarchate of Rabbi Judah Ha-Nasi. The literature of the age reflects the partly contemptuous, and partly inimical attitude prevailing among the educated classes in Rome.

Some historians hold to the view,² that the Judaeans' new status in Roman law, after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, was that of half free dediticii, i.e., men who had once fought with arms against the Roman people, and subsequently, when vanquished had surrendered. According to this theory, the Judaeans were no longer regarded officially as a nationality (gens) but only as a religious denomination.³

Whether we accept this theory from its legal point of view, or not, the basic facts are that the normal status of the Judaeans in his homeland and the Jew in the Diaspora was shattered forever, and many people have asked themselves

²S. W. Baron A Social and Religious History of the Jews. N.Y. and London, 1952. Volume II, p. 103, 104. The author in footnotes 17 and 18 disputes Momsen's and Wellhausen's doctrines about the status of the Jews and the problem of dediticii.

³To this Baron remarks, p. it. p. 103, that these historians failed to take into account that ancient conditions allowed for little separation between religious and national feelings. To support his view he quotes Herodotus, The Histories, VIII, 144.

what is their new identity a) in the Jewish community, b) vis-a-vis their pagan neighbors, c) in relation to the sects of the Judeo-Christians and Gentile-Christians.

In the new period, the three appellations took on different, sharper meanings. They find their expression in the literature of the age, which we shall again examine in each sector.

The Jewish Sector--Early Period
(from Titus to Hadrian)

The Works of Josephus

In the Introduction we introduced Josephus, a General in the A.D. 70 Jewish war against the Romans, later turned historian and Jewish apologist. It is good to remember the general air of the time, both in the Jewish and non-Jewish world, in which Josephus wrote his works.

The four major works of Josephus, The Wars, Jewish Antiquities, Contra Apionem, and The Life had all, in various forms and extents, the purpose of presenting to the Romans and the Greek-reading world in general, the history of the Jewish people, its past, and its recent confrontation with the Romans. They were written from A.D. 72 to A.D. 100.⁴ His usage of the three terms to designate the Jewish people in Greek, is therefore a testimony of a Pharisaic Jew in the period of the Pre-A.D. 70 period, as well as of a cosmopolitan citizen of the Oikoumené. For,

⁴See Introduction, Note 8.

in his works, Josephus shows a familiarity with the literatures and the works of historians known in the Oikoumené.

From the point of view of usage of the appellations, his works can be divided into three types:

- (1) Historical documentation of the Jews' past.
- (2) The history of the Jews in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman periods.
- (3) Contemporary History (The Life).

Ioudaios

The Jewish past is described in Jewish Antiquities. Based mainly on the Biblical sources, and the Septuagint version of some books e.g., I Esdras, Josephus mostly follows the Biblical narrative, but in the usage of the terms Ioudaios, Israel, Hebraioi,⁵ he has gone his own way. "Ioudaios" starts only in Nehemiah's time. "It is by that name," he says, "that we are known since we returned from Babylon. That name we draw from the tribe of Judah."⁵ It is interesting to compare Josephus with Ben Sira. Both of them see in Nehemiah the principal reconstructor of the Judaeen political entity. Hence, Josephus' usage of Ioudaios--when it begins (mainly in the Hellenistic period)--is as a term of identity of an ethnic group, in its

⁵Ant. XI.173; the claim that Ioudaios derives from the tribe Judah and not from the land Judaea is made--for quite other reasons--by Justin Martyr. See note 47 below

various forms of political status: dependency, semi-autonomy, semi-independence, independence and loss of national political status. As usual with the appellations of ancient peoples, the people is given always in plural: "the High Priest of the Judaeans" (τῶν Ἰουδαίων) (Ant. XII. 40), "the godless of the Jews" (τῶν ἄθεβῶν Ἰουδαίων) (Ant. XIII. 42), and so when it is given in the company of other ethnic groups (not necessarily politically independent):

κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ καιρὸν ἤδη τῶν Συρῶν καὶ
Ἰδουμαίων καὶ φοινικῶν πολλοὶ εὐχοντο Ἰουδαῖοι

The English text is:

Now at this time the Jews held the following cities
in Syria, Idumaea and Phoenicia. . . .
(Ant. Bk. XIII. 395)

The Greek text reflects Josephus' way of expression of the real concept of the peoples' identity in the ancient times.^{5a} The lands named Idumea, Syria, Phoenicia are merely names of geographical regions, changing hands and masters and political fortunes, while the peoples inhabiting them keep their ethnic appellations. This is also very true for the Ioudaioi. According to Josephus' concept, they are just one of the mosaic of the ethnic groups in the area. Antipater

^{5a}

Making the distinction between the substantive and adjectival forms of the appellations Ioudaios and Hebraios and the rendering of their nominative and genitive cases into English is particularly important in the analysis of their evolution and meanings, as will be evident in the proceeding chapters. Of Greek text in Ant. XX (12) 268; where "κατὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας δόξας τῶν Ἰουδαίων" is rendered: "... on the opinions that we Jews hold....". (Emphasis mine).

is called by Josephus an Idumaeen (XIV.8) and his son Herod who is of the same ethnic origins becomes "the King of the Judaeans" ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης (XV.409). When he ends the writing of Antiquities, Josephus says:

The present work contains the recorded history from man's original creation to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, of the events that befell us Judaeans (τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις) in Egypt and Syria and Palestine. (Ant. XX.259)

Before his country was officially given such an administrative name by Trajan in 116 A.D., Josephus calls it Παλαιστίνη already in ca. A.D. 94. This is in conformance with the way other historians saw the lands and peoples of the region: a mosaic of peoples with different religions and tongues.

The term Ioudaios is then used by him to identify any Jew living in the Oikoumené, in a community observing the customs of their ancestors, and recognized as such by the contemporary political rulers of the country or city they inhabit. This is applicable to the period extending from B.C. 538 (return from Babylon) to the end of the first century A.D.

Hebraios and Israel

In describing the historical origins of his people, Josephus faced a restive public who, being well familiar with the term Ioudaioi from the recent Roman-Jewish war, nevertheless

had little notion about the terms Hebraios and Israel. Being himself well versed in Hellenistic literature, he knew the usages of the respective terms by the non-Jewish writers. His choice of appellations therefore faithfully reflects his frame of mind in this respect. A selection from his works, in order to see the way he chose to introduce these terms to the new readership, is, therefore, a necessity.

As stated in the introduction, Josephus chose to present himself to his Greco-Roman readers not as a Ioudaios but as: "by descent (gene) a Hebrew." The reasons for this definition have been debated before. Although Antiquities follows as a rule the Biblical narrative, and only in a handful of places, the name Hebraios--as we have seen before--is used there in the sense of a nation, Josephus predominantly uses this term, instead of 'Israel' or 'Ἰσραῆλ'.^{5b} The Jews in Egypt are 'Hebrews' and so are the Jews in the Desert and those in the period of the Judges. The difference between Josephus and the Bible can best be shown by the following few quotations.

From Moses to the conquest of Canaan

On Moses:

He was the noblest Hebrew of them all. He was the seventh son of Abraham. (Book II.229)

On Moses' Laws:

Such were the ordinances of Moses, and the Hebrew nation (Hebraiōn Ethnos) continues to act in conformity therewith. (Book IV.308)

5b

The term used in the Septuagint, for Benei-Israel, =the Children of Israel.

On the Sinai sojourn:

The Hebrews found life in the desert so unpleasant . . .
(Book IV.1)

Korah--one of the most eminent Hebrews. (Book IV.14)

On the conquest of Canaan:

. . . from the ends of the lands which the Hebrews shall
conquer . . . (Book IV.95) . . . And the Hebrews took
possession of their (Amorites) land . . . (Book IV.95)

An additional shorter sampling would show, where
Josephus breaks with this frequent usage and slowly passes
to the usage of 'Israelites':

The spies in Jericho are 'Hebrews' (V.8). To the
two and a half tribes settling in the eastern Transjordan
Joshua asks "not to regard us as strangers but as 'Hebrews.'
For we are all of Abraham's stock, whether living here or
there, . . . " (V.97). In the Judgeship of Ehud and Gedeon,
the people is called simultaneously 'Israelites' and
'Hebrews,' while during that of Deborah, only: 'Israelites.'
Samson governs the 'Israelites' (V.317). The story of Ruth
is set in the time when Eli was High Priest of the 'Israel-
ites' (V.318). But suddenly, again, the 'Hebrews' make war
against the Philistines (V.388). His confusing use of both
terms can be demonstrated by quoting one sentence. Speaking
of Samuel's period and the Philistine wars, he writes:

Confidence then mightily revived among the Hebrews,
who hoped through the coming of the ark to get the
better of their enemies, while the enemy were in con-
sternation, dreading that presence of the ark among
the Israelites. (V.355) (Italics mine.)

We have earlier⁶ explained the Philistines' appellation of their Jewish opponents. Josephus is not consistent in any of the biblical appellations. Saul is a king of the 'Hebrews' (VI.54). In the battles between David and Goliath, David's people are 'Hebrews.' When David is already King and leading his wars against the Philistines and Arameans, Josephus still calls him "King of the 'Hebrews'" (VII.105) and he annexes territory "to the country of the 'Hebrews.'" (VII.98) King Solomon, after completing the construction of the temple, orders "the elders of the 'Hebrews' to assemble all the people of Jerusalem, in order to see the temple and join in bringing the ark into it." (VIII.99) Josephus apparently ends the history of the 'Hebrews' as a people, with the cession of the Ten Tribes. This is seen from the following passages:

- (1) I shall now relate, first the acts of Jeroboam, King of Israel, and then in that follows . . . of Roboamos, the King of the two tribes. (VIII.224)
- (2) This (the cession) was the beginning of the Hebrews' misfortunes, and led to their being defeated in war by other races and to their falling captive. (VIII.229)

It is absolutely clear that passage (2) expresses Josephus' personal credo of the outcome of the Jewish War. His pride in being a Hebrew⁷ is linked to the period of glory of his nation which ended with the death of King

⁶See Chapter One, pp. 69, 70.

⁷See Conclusion, below.

Solomon. The period of the existence of the two Kingdoms of Israel and Judah is seen by him as an unfortunate episode in Jewish history, in which the Israelites (Ten Tribes) were finally punished by exile from their country under Hoshea, and in their place the hated Chutaeans were settled by Shalmanesser.

To such an end did the Israelites come because they violated the Laws and disregarded the prophets who foretold that this misfortune would overtake them . . . (Book IX.281)

While during the period of the coexistence of the two kingdoms he calls the Northerners 'Israelites,' and the Southerners, just by the name of their tribe,⁸ already in the time of Manasseh the Judaeans are called by him again 'the Hebrews,' and the Northern Israelites "their brothers."⁹ Josephus then gradually passes again to see in Josiah King of Judah and his followers, a King of Hebrews. On the famous Josiah's Pesach Festival he says:¹⁰

No other festival has been celebrated by the Hebrews in such a manner, since the time of the Prophet Samuel. (Book X.72)

⁸E.g., Book IX.125: "Jotham son of Ozias reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem." Book IX.188: "Thereafter he raised an army from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin."

⁹Book X.38: Manasseh killed all the righteous men among the Hebrews. *Ibid.*: " . . . The calamities which had befallen their Israelite brothers when they outraged him (God)."

¹⁰Josephus' tendency of identifying the glorious periods of the Jews with Hebrews, is evidenced by his disregarding the clear usage of Israel in the Hebrew and LXX texts. (2 Chr.: 18)

The End of the Hebrew People

For Josephus, the end of the "Hebrew" people as a nation comes with the Babylonian captivity:

As for the General Nabuzardanes [נבוארדן], after taking the Hebrew people . . ." (Book X.155)

It appears later, that this Hebrew people is no other than the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who will stay seventy years in Babylon, and emerge from there as the new Ioudaioi, (Ant. XI. 173). The importance of the transition of these epoch-making definitions, will be seen from full quotations of the text:

- (1) But the King of Babylonia when he carried off the two tribes did not settle any nation in their place, and for this reason all of Judaea and Jerusalem and the temple remained deserted for seventy years.¹¹
- (2) Nehemiah addresses his people: "Fellow Jews! (Ioudaioi)" and Josephus explains: "This name by which they have been called from the time they went up from Babylon is derived from the tribe of Judah; as this tribe was the first to come to those parts, both the people themselves and their country have taken their name from it." (Book XI.173)

Josephus' consistency in distinguishing between Ioudaioi and Ebraioi, by using the latter expression only when speaking of the pre-Babylonian-exile period is proven from the Jewish Wars as well. Written in 72-75 A.D. in

¹¹ The two tribes are the returnees to Judaea under the Edict of Cyrus in B.C. 538, and are thus in Josephus' eyes the returning Hebrews. An allusion is also made to the preferential treatment by God of the two tribes, whose land was not settled by foreigners, but was left in custody, waiting for their redeeming return after seventy years. The Israelites did not deserve such a treatment, and hence their land was settled by the hated Chuteans.

Rome,¹² for the enlightening of his own people¹³ as well as for the general public in the Oikoumené, he only resorts to the usage of the term 'Hebrew' in three instances, all reminding the reader of historical facts pertaining to the Hebrew ancestors. These are:

(1) Joshua son of Nun (Nai), general of the 'Hebrews.' (Book IV.459)

(2) He is asked by Titus to address the defendants of the walls of Jerusalem in his own (Hebrew) language¹⁴ in order to persuade them to surrender to the Romans. Josephus does this and enumerates the various historical events in which God wanted to save their Hebrew ancestors, as opposed to the present situation, when God is on the side of the Romans, and resistance is hopeless.

Among these were:

(3) Pharaoh who bestowed silver and gold on the Hebrews. (The Wars, Book V.382)

(4) Sancherib who fled from the Hebrews. (Ibid., 388)

Speaking of the two zealot leaders of the rebellion, John and Simon, he says that their deeds disparaged the Hebrew race. (Ibid., 388)

(5) The Land of Palestine is called by Josephus "The Heritage of the Hebrews." He says that the tower of

¹²Thackery, Introduction to Vol. I, Wars. op. cit., p. xi.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Wars, Book V:360-61, VII:97.

Psephinius, opposite which Titus encamped,

. . . afforded from sunrise a prospect embracing both
 Arabia and utmost limits of Hebrew territory ¹⁵.
 (The Wars, Bk. V. 160).

Summing up for his readers the history of Jerusalem in its 1179 years of existence from David's coronation as the King of the Jews, to its capture by Titus, Josephus says, "The Canaanite population (of Jerusalem) was expelled by David King of the Ioudaioi." (VI.438) If this appellation be compared with a later one, when he is writing in Jewish Antiquities (VII.356), we find that there, King David declares Solomon "King of the Hebrews and of the tribe of Judah." There is an apparent inconsistency. However, in Antiquities Josephus is faithful to his concept of a nation of Hebrews, whose last King is Zedekiah. In his summary of Jerusalem's past in Wars, Book VI, his purpose is to show to the Roman reader that the cycle of Jerusalem's life as a capital of an independent Kingdom of the Ioudaioi was closed by Titus:

The period from King David its first Jewish (Ioudaios) sovereign, to its destruction by Titus was 1179 years. . . . Thus ended the siege of Jerusalem. (Book VI.440-442)

¹⁵The English translation "the utmost limits of the Hebrew territory" does not transmit the real value of Josephus' words for the purpose of our study. The Greek is outstanding in the equality of $\tau\eta\varsigma \text{ Ἑβραίων κληρονομίας}$ with [מִן הַיַּרְדֵּי לְעֵבְרָא]

Conclusions

Josephus is a historian. He sees the outcome of the Jewish war against the Romans as being predetermined by the division of the monarchy into two kingdoms (Ant. VII.229). The history of the glorious 'Hebrew' nation ends with the exile to Babylonia, from where they emerge as a new reshaped small ethnic group renamed Ioudaioi, a geopolitical designation. Their fortunes changed constantly as a function of the political constellations in the region, from Cyrus to Vespasian. With the fall of Jerusalem the cycle of the Jewish history was closed by Titus. For Josephus, the appellations of his people, are--seen from a historical angle--such:

- a) Hebrews-Hebraioi: from Abraham to the last King of Judaea--Zedekiah.
- b) Judaeans-Ioudaioi: from Nehemiah (B.C. 444), to the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70).

The term Ioudaioi continues to be a practical appellation of the defeated people of Judaea. He feels, however, that this appellation has lost its essentials for a honorable identification. To be identified by the Greco-Roman readers as belonging to one of the many defeated (by the Romans) tribes in Europe and Asia; to belong to one of the small ethnic groups in Syria-Palestine: the Samaritans, Syrians, Phoenicians, Idumaeans, Itureans, Nabateans and others, was unacceptable to his mind. He preferred to identify not with

the appellation of those who by their "improper national policy" led--in his eyes--to the loss of the Jewish independence, but with the glorious past of the Hebrews, and the Hebrew heritage.

Josephus is a pragmatic man and is not carried away by emotion; we do not detect in his works whether the historical or the apologetical, any special adoration for the concept of Israel, as in the case of Philo. Although he was a Pharisaic Jew, his works being modelled on those of the Greek historians, he did not divert from the main theme. He wrote not a history of Judaism but of the Jews. By the end of the first century C.E., more authoritative knowledge on the three appellations of the Jews, was made available to the enlightened Greco-Roman world by Philo and Josephus. Both of them, presented, however, the view of Jews imbued with the Hellenistic culture. But contemporaneously with their works, the authors of the Gospels and Acts, had presented the Ioudaioi, Hebraioi and Israel in a different light.

Although this literature is not absolutely "Jewish" in its character and origin, spritually it draws from the events that took place in the hundred years which preceded the year A.D. 70. It is therefore well appropriate to examine the writings of the New Testament, and analyze their implications, and their authors' views.

The New Testament

Out of the social political and spritual unrest of the first century C.E. in Palestine, arose a sect among the Jews, who unlike the other known sects: the Sadducees the Essenes, the "New Covananthers" etc., soon developed into a militant ideological community which, in the second half of the century, took the direction of a final schism. Cultural differences in outlook existed since long ago between the two branches of the Jewish people, the Palestinian and the Diaspora. In its first stage the Palestinian Judeo-Christians have not much departed from Pharisaic Judaism. Peter, Paul and Stephen were strict observers of the Pharisaic rules. The Diaspora Christianity spread mainly among the Hellenistic Jews of Syria-Anatolia. The tendency to schism was already started by Paul in the "pre-A.D. 70" years, even when Gamaliel I still called for tolerance to the members of the new sect.¹⁶ However, after A.D. 70 and the reorganization at Jamnia in A.D. 90, when the Prayer against the Minim was installed on the recommendation of Rabban Gamaliel II, the issue was forced by the Jews, and the breakaway of the Judeo-Christians from the mother religion--Judaism, became a historical fact. The new movement grew from a sectarian current into a powerful torrent, and changing its direction of activity to the Hellenistic Gentile populations, expanded very rapidly. This expansion was

¹⁶ Acts 5:34-38.

achieved by two means: 1) oral missionary preaching by the Apostles travelling among the centers of Jewish populations, whose synagogues served as the vehicle of transferring the "true message of Scripture" to the Jews and the Gentile would-be proselytes to Judaism whom they tried to attract to Christianity; 2) written propaganda and epistles.

The body of literature called The New Testament was composed by authors, some of whom are claimed to be of Jewish origin. It consists of the Four Gospels: Matthew,¹⁷ Mark, Luke and John; a history of the Apostolic missionary activity, the Acts of the Apostles, and twenty-one epistles named for their addressee or for the author. Although scholars are divided on the date of composition and the original language of the Gospels, there is no doubt in anyone's mind that all authors were well versed in the social and religious way of life of the Jewish communities in the first century A.D. Their usage of the appellations reflects therefore the pragmatistical conditions of the society of the first century, as well as the view of the authors.

Generally, these authors use Israel and Ioudaioi as identification terms not only for the Jews of Palestine, but also for those living in the Decapolis¹⁸ and the Diaspora.

¹⁷Called the Synoptic Gospels, because they present a comprehensive view agreeing in subject matter and order.

¹⁸League of Ten Cities stretching from Philadelphia to Scythopolis (in Palestine) and Damascus, enjoying a special status in the Roman imperial administration of the Near East.

The few occurrences in which they use Hebraioi, are of such a different nature from cases of usage in other literatures, that they deserve special analysis, from the point of view of its author's identity, circumstance of usage and its intent.

Ioudaios

The authors of the Gospels propagated in their writings the idea of fulfillment of the prophetic message, concerning the Messiahship of Jesus. Their goal was now to prove to the Jews that the young Church which had seceded from Pharisaic Judaism was the standard-bearer of the "True Religion". The believers in the New Testament (who in the early stage had no definite appellation as a sect), were opposed to those who continued to stick to the Old Testament, designated as Ioudaioi. At the time when the Christian religion appeared on the historical scene, there was not much left of the autonomy of the Jews in Judaea. The Roman Procurators held a firm grip on the country, and the Sanhedrin's activity was restricted to purely cultic affairs. The last of the zugoth, Hillel and Shamai, had died out in Herod's time. Pharisaic Judaism started to take shape, while the Sadducees still had some influence in the high priestly circles. Jesus and the twelve Apostles were Ioudaioi because they observed the precepts, tenets and commandments of Judaism, although they were critical of some of its halakhot, ethical values and performance. By political categories, they were not Ioudaioi. Most of them --if not all-- were Galileans; they lived in a Tetrarchy belonging to Herod Antipas, and did not belong to a Judaeian state. Their early

designation as Jews should then be seen as expressing that state of affairs in which Ioudaios meant only a way of life of those who observe the Mosaic Law.

Paul later saw in Pharisaic Judaism an obsolete body. He opposed "the administration of the law engraved on stone (which lead in fact to spiritual death)" with a new administration of the spirit of life". (2 Cor. 3:7)^{18a} The appellation Ioudaios in the New Testament is therefore used to designate the Jews in the lifetime of Jesus and after, who observed the Mosaic Law in its obsolete form, with the additional strata attached to it by the Pharisees; the Christians desired to substitute a New Testament for the existing Old Testament of the Jews. The Ioudaioi of the post-Pauline period, are those who refused to see in the interpretation of Scripture by Paul and other Apostles, the true intent of the Old Testament.

In this meaning is the appellation Ioudaios made in the Synoptic Gospels, to present the events leading to the Crucifixion, and the attitude of the Jewish Establishment--the Sanhedrin, the Priests, the Scribes--to Jesus' divine mission. Even John uses the appellation in a matter-of-fact way, presenting the Jews as Jesus' oponents, but with no expressions of hatred. This is directed more against the Establishment, the Pharisees, the Chiefs of the Priests, than against the common people. In the dialogue between Jesus and Pilate on the question, if he (Jesus) is the King of the Ioudaioi (all the Jews of Palestine . . .) Pilate retorts: "Am I a

18a

The N.T. in modern English. J.B. Phillips
Macmillan N.Y. 1966.

Jew?¹⁹ It is your nation and your chief priest that handed you over to me!"

Paul, who was the "foreign minister" and travelling ambassador of the new Church, sometimes had confrontations with various authorities. In such cases he had to identify himself. In the incident at the Temple Court (Acts. 21:39, 22:3) he identifies himself before the Roman as "a [man a] Ioudaios from Tarsus". To his fellow Jews he uses a Biblical formula known from the Book of Esther (2:5), "I am [a man] a Ioudaios" (*ἔγω εἰμι ἄνθρωπος Ἰουδαῖος*). While the Ioudaios addressed to the Roman is essentially ethnic in meaning,²⁰ that directed to the crowd was meant to awaken sympathy and compassion as a compatriot, a man of the same cult, and not one of the aliens. The latter were--as is well known--subject to restrictions of movement in certain courts of the temple. The suspicion of the Jews that Paul's companions were Greeks (Gentiles) (Acts 21:28) was the main cause of the melee in the court.

In general, it can be said that the narratives of the Gospels and Acts do not use Ioudaios in a contemptuous meaning although they are critical of the attitude of the religious authorities in Jerusalem. In most of Paul's epistles he uses the term in explanatory contexts, or, when the Jew is compared to, or distinguished from, other groups of believers of the Church, as in the passage of Colossians 3:11.

¹⁹ John 18:35. Pilate opposes Ioudaios to Romaioi in the national plane.

²⁰ As the case with Pilate in 19 above.

There is no question here of Greek or Ioudaios, circumcised or uncircumcised, barbarian Scythian (Chutaeen), slave or freeman . . .

The young Church was made up of all these groups. Paul's tone is rather conciliatory and mild.

A different note is struck in the Apocalypse of John. For the first time hatred and scorn is expressed against the Jews:

I know how you are slandered by those who claim to be Ioudaioi, but they are not, they are Satan's synagogue. (Apoc. of John 2:11)

This is the transition to the meaning of contempt which is starting to be expressed by the militant-growing Church.

Hebraios

The Four Gospels, do not use 'Hebrew.' John mentions Hebrew-Aramaic words six times, the meaning of which he explains to the Greek readers, as "which means in Hebrew": Rabbi, Messiah, Kaiphas (Peter), and places: Beth Zetha (5:2), Gabbata (19:14) Golgotha (19:7). In (19:14) he makes Mary address Jesus "in Hebrew": Rabbouni. And finally, reporting the text of the inscription on the Cross over Jesus' head (19:20), he calls the languages in which it was written: "Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαϊστί, Ἑλληνιστί." Although the appellation of the Hebrew language in the various literatures will be discussed elsewhere, these terms are essential to the discussion of other usages of 'Hebrew' as a people in the New Testament.

Turning to the Acts of the Apostles, we find a very characteristic usage of "Hebrew" to designate the Jewish members of the early Church in Jerusalem. The Greek text says, "there was grumbling of the 'Hellenists' against the Hebrews." (ἐγένετο γογγυσμός τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους). The subject was discrimination of one group by the other.

About this time, when the number of disciples was continuously increasing the Hellenists complained before the Hebrews, that in the daily distribution of food, their widows were being overlooked. (Acts 6:1)

The term "Ἑλληνιστῶν" is rendered in different versions of the Bible in different ways, but most commonly by: "the Greek-speaking [Jews]"²¹. It is used again in Acts 9:29, when Paul is still called Saul, and he argues in Jerusalem with the "Hellenists," who "made several attempts on his life." It is difficult to see how the Greek-speaking Hellenistic Jews, would suddenly become the militant Pharisees who want to eliminate Paul, when even Gamaliel I adopted a lenient course towards the new sect. The addition of the word "Jew" to the English rendering of "Hellenistes," thus translating it into: "Greek speaking Jews,"²² is without basis in the Greek text.

In the early phase of the Church in Jerusalem, its members were mostly recruited from the Jewish population, both natives and Diaspora Jews residing in

²¹

See J. B. Phillips. The New Testament in Modern English, N.Y., 1960; compare rendering of The New English Bible and Apocrypha, Oxford, 1970.

²²

For a full discussion of this passage see Excursus I, p. 244.

the city and organized in their local synagogues. To assume that a rift could have erupted between two groups of the same religious (earlier and present) background, solely on the ground of usage of language, Hebrew-Aramaic or Greek, seems unreal. Such a rift could only have erupted ("γογγυσμός ") in a serious form which was worthy of recording as a historical event in the life of the young Church, in the second phase of its activity, when its cadres comprised non-Jewish members. The committee appointed to settle the conflict includes at least one man of Greek-Syrian descent Nicholas of Antioch (Acts 6:6). The committee no doubt represented the two parties to the conflict on an equal basis. The complaining party was the non-Jewish members. Those accused were the believers of Jewish origin. True, the Judaeans Jews in that period spoke the vernacular Aramaic, as proven by some of the names translated by John (quoted above), although that the language is designated by him as However, the author of Acts does not talk here of linguistic groups "Ἑβραϊστων " versus "Ἑλληνιστων", but opposes two ethnic groups: one, the homoeogeneous "Hebrews" and second, a heterogeneous, non-Jewish, a mixture of other ethnic origins, whose common language is Greek.

The usage of Hebrew here points to the delicate dilemma with which the leaders of the Church were faced in the "second phase" of its expansion: finding a new formula or appellation to designate those Jews who have joined the Church. Having severed their relations with the Old Testament

and Mosaism, it was no longer appropriate to call them "Ioudaioi"--which was from now on reserved for the persecutors of the new faith. The appellation "Hebraioi" was therefore revived, to designate the Christians of Jewish origin. The choice of this name was done with ease. It had already been used in Judith, II Maccabees, IV Maccabees, and the Sybilline Oracles, in expressing adoration of Israel. The link so created between the present and the past, was another expression of the romantic trend in Judeo-Christianity. "Hebraios" was revived with full honors, in contradistinction to the view of the religious authorities of Jerusalem by whom Hebraios was absolutely ignored before and after A.D. 70.

Israel

The authors of the New Testament also strove to prove to their new disciples that the Messianism of Jesus was foretold by the prophets of Israel, and therefore, anything related to the past of the people called in the Holy Scriptures "Israel," its ancestors, its righteous kings, its prophets' moral teachings, is to be honored and revered. Their quotations from Scripture evoke God's affection for Israel thus giving the appellation the same status as it had with the central Jewish authorities. In pragmatical life, they go even a step farther, by according to this appellation a contemporary application.

The whole gamut of the Biblical formulas applicable to Israel is used by these writers. Joseph journeys back

with the "child" (from Egypt) towards "the land of Israel" (Matt. 2:20-22). Jesus instructs his disciples to concentrate their mission "on the lost sheep of the House of Israel" (Matt. 10:6; 15:24). The cities in which they are to preach are "cities of Israel" (Matt. 25:23). The Jews mocking Jesus on the Cross ridicule Him in shouting: "You are a King of Israel, get then down from the Cross (and save yourself . . .)" (Matt. 27:42). To his disciples Jesus says, "Yes you will sit on the thrones and rule the twelve tribes of Israel" (Luke 22:30). John makes Nathanael ask Jesus: "Rabbi, aren't you the King of Israel?" (John 1:50). Nicodemus is called by Jesus "a teacher in Israel" (John 3:10). John is the first to call the contemporary Jews "Israelitēs." Facing Nathanael, Jesus remarks: here is a true Israelite (ἴδε ἄληθος Ἰσραηλιτῆς) (John 1:48). This formula is used in other occurrences by the Apostles; it proves that in Jesus' time, it was used as a designation of a compatriot, in the sphere of internal usage.

The author of the Acts of the Apostles continues to use "Israel" and Israelitēs in the same way. We learn that Jesus was asked by his disciples, "Lord is this the time when you are going to restore the Kingdom of Israel?" This question, seen in the frame of the prevailing political conditions in Palestine in the lifetime of Jesus, has the clear meaning of the abolition of the Roman yoke, and institution of a kingdom of the people of Israel, as a sovereign nation. But the author of Acts is the first to testify that in the

Jewish society of the first century, people assembled in public were addressed as "Men, Israelitēs," (ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται) just as we in modern times are being addressed "My fellow Americans" by an American dignitary. This "internal usage" is made in an emotional speech of Peter to the gathered Judaeans and Jerusalemites (Acts 2:14, 22). It should be noted, that Peter as a Galilean addresses in 2:14 his fellow-Judaeans (residents of the province Judaea) and the residents of Jerusalem. In the context of the two verses 2:14 and 2:22, the term Ioudaios used by Peter has only a geographical quality, while Israelites is the fellow-brother, compatriot, of common descent and common religion. The term "Israelitēs" is repeated in a number of other occurrences, which indicates that it was used as a popular way of appealing to the Jews. (Acts 3:12, 13:16) Even Gamaliel addressing the Sanhedrin after Peter's arrest in the temple, used this formula, "Men, Israelitēs!" (Acts 5:35)

Acts is full of all other formulas used by the prophets of Israel in the Bible: "the whole House of Israel" (2:36), "all the elders of the Children of Israel" (5:21), "the god of this people Israel" (13:17, "all the people of Israel" (13:24), "the hope of Israel" (18:20). The effort made by the Apostles to identify the young Church as the continuator of the Israel of the Prophets is clear, and is apparent also in all Epistles.

Paul and his three appellations

The Apostle Paul in his activities and adventures offers us a valuable variety of appellation of the Jews in his lifetime in Acts and in The Second Letter to the Corinthians. Paul, the devoted Pharisaic Jew, (Philippians 3:5) was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia (Acts 21:39), which was in the 1st Century A.D. a Roman colony; he therefore was a Roman citizen (Acts 22:27). He testifies to his being a disciple of Gamaliel the Elder (Acts 22:2). Coming from Cilicia, he mastered Greek excellently (Acts 21:37), but his mother tongue is Aramaic, as was the spoken language of the Jews in the Diaspora.²³ Even when he addresses Christians of non-Jewish origin, (2 Corinthians) in the Greek-written letter, his precise Hebrew quotations are amazing. So, for instance, in writing about his being "flogged thirty-nine strokes by the Jews," he says in Greek: "...τεσσεράκοντα παρὰ μίαν ἔλαβον,..." (= (...תְּשַׁעַר עֶשְׂרִים מַלְּאָכִים)). (2 Cor. 11:24). His use of such subtle formulation, in writing to a community far away from Judaea, to whom such an expression was strange, testifies to Paul's deep attachment to formulas and definitions of the Law and to his traditional usage of Hebrew or Aramaic expressions. It would not be strange, therefore to hear from Paul's mouth all the three different

²³ Scholars hold that except for Egypt, the Jews in all other lands of the Diaspora maintained in their daily life the vernacular Palestinian Aramaic dialect.

appellations of the Jews, which we are studying. Moreover, some of the incidents related in Acts are transmitted so vividly in a narrative form that their analysis permits penetration into Paul's conception of each of the three terms.

It is best to start with 2 Corinthians. In his letter (11:16-22) Paul says to his addressees:

Allow me to boast a little as the others do: They say they are Ἑβραῖοι --so am I. They say they are Ἰσραηλῖται --so am I. They say they are Abraham's descendants--so am I. (11:22)

From these three qualifications, it would appear that here Paul takes to task both the Jews who deny Jesus as Messiah and the Jewish segment of the Church in Corinth. For he immediately follows up with enumerating a list of ill treatment he underwent "by the Ioudaioi" (11:24).

In so far as "Ioudaioi" is here used by Paul with a negative connotation--as the persecutors of Christ's followers, the other two terms, are definitely pointing to positive and appreciative concepts. Paul takes pride in being able to call himself each of the three terms. Hebraioi and Israelitai become in these few important lines the antithesis of the term Ioudaioi (=they!), who not only rejected Jesus, but also continued to maltreat Paul in his evangelic mission of carrying the Gospel to the Gentiles. In the same letter, Chapter 3, Paul takes to task the adherents of the Old Covenant, calling them repeatedly "they," as opposed to

"us" who are Christians (3:12-18). The distinction made here by Paul will have a following in the concepts of the Church Fathers in their later writings and, consequently in their relationship to the contemporary Jews on the one hand, and to their ancestors on the other hand. Paul is the originator of this distinction. This cosmopolitan Jew, bold enough to sever his ties with the obsolete Mosaic Law and its basic tenets, nevertheless feels that the modified New Testament is really in harmony with the old traditions, and a continuation of the faith of the Hebrews, the Israelites, the descendants of Abraham. He sees in his mission only an action of removing a veil from the Mosaic Law, unduly imposed by generations of Jewish interpreters and legislators until his own days (2 Cor. 3:16-17). Ἑβραῖος and Ἰσραηλῆτης relate to the ancestors of Paul and Jesus. Ἰουδαῖος represents those who are continuing to 'pervert' the teachings of the Law and Prophets. Therefore, the appellation Ἰουδαῖοι will be regarded negatively by the future generations. The Church will see in the appellations Hebraioi and Israelitēs the blameless ancestors of the Christian faith. The Church Fathers' writings--as we shall find out--testify to the truth of this postulate.

An examination of the various appellations of the Jews in Paul's own lifetime can now be made. The many expressions furnished by the narrative of Paul's adventures in the Temple and the circumstances of his arrest give plenty of opportunity for insight into the concept of the usage

by the various participants in the events. (All quotations are from the Greek version of Acts.)

Paul's incident in the Temple Court

Paul returns with his party from a long overseas trip to the Christian communities in Asia. On his way back to Jerusalem he is warned in all the cities where he stops (Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea) not to go up to Jerusalem, where his life is in danger because of his apostate teachings among the Jews, whom he was advising not to circumcise their sons, and to discontinue some practices of the Mosaic Law. Paul disregards this advice, goes to Jerusalem and after a short stay, he is up in the Temple (21:1-26). The dramatic events are started by a group of "Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας," (Jews from Asia) (21:27):

They have seized him, put their hand on him and shouted: "ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται " (Men, Israelitēs) Help! This is the man who is teaching everybody everywhere to despise our people, our Law and this place, moreover he brought with him Greeks to the Temple, and defiled the Holy Place. (21:28)

When arrested, he asked the Roman commander

(Χιλιάρχος) permission to speak to the surrounding Jews:

(1) To the Roman he says: "I am a 'Ἰουδαῖος,' from Tarsus, Cilcia."

(2) To the Jews he addresses himself in "Hebrew dialect":

(3) The Jews in Palestine call all the Jews in the Oikoumené, Ioudaioi. The Nazarenes are a sect among the Jews all over the world, including Palestine.

(4) Romans call the Palestinian as well as the Diaspora Jews Ioudaioi.

Returning to Paul's usage of the three terms in 2 Cor. 11:22, the term Ἰσραηλῆτης, is distinctive grammatically from the other two in that it has the Greek ending characterizing not an adjective Ebra-ios, Iouda-ios--which is used to designate a people's appellation, e.g., Chanaanaios (in the LXX) Romaioi, Achaioi, Aegyptioi --but for an occupation, e.g., ῥωμαῖος, ἰσραηλῆτης, ἰουδαῖος. This may lead us to see in this usage, something different than the concept of the Hebrew language formula of בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, (sometimes rendered in English as the Children of Israel, or the Israelites),²⁵ which is generally accepted to express a peoplehood, a nationhood. It may even be argued that this expression, in the mouths of its New Testament users may be indicative of the civil status in the community, namely priests, Levites (λευιτῆς) and Israelites. But another quotation from the mouth of Paul will disprove such a hypothesis. In his Epistle "To the Romans" in which Paul treats the Roman Jews politely, but berates them gently for their failure to appreciate his mission, he dwells, in

²⁵The LXX always renders בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, the sons of Israel.

Chapter 10, on how the Gentiles understood more of his new doctrine, and how "Israel" (as a people) has failed to do so. He then exclaims:

I say then: Has God totally rejected His people? This is unbelievable! For I myself am an Israelitēs, a descendant of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. God has not rejected his own people, which he has acknowledged of old. (Romans 11:1-2)

This passage makes it clear that Paul's usage of the term "Israelitēs" is in the sense of a man belonging to a nation called Israel. Although not used in this sense in practical daily communications, the spiritual concept of a nation called Israel, above and beyond territorial boundaries, is well attested by the authors of the New Testament. More support of the usage of "Israelitēs" in this sense is further provided by Josephus writing in Jewish Antiquities. Although the descriptions pertain to peoples in Biblical times "Ἰσραηλῖται" are named as a people together with three other of their neighbors, Ἀμαληκῖται, Μιδιανῖται, Ἀραβῖ, in the same sentence (Book V.210), and it is well known that Josephus' purpose was to use terms understood to his Greco-Roman readers in the 80s A.D. But even the authors of the Gospels in the first century use this term for ethnic identification.²⁶

In the Epistle to the Phillipians Paul argues forcefully against the Jews in the Church who maintain that

²⁶Nestle, New Testament in Greek. Luke, 17:17 "καὶ αὗτος ἦν Σαμαριτῆς. . .," p. 202. This ending ". . . . ἡ" is applicable there both to Samaritans and Israelites!

circumcision is to be observed. He argues that he is even more a Jew than his ideological opponents and expresses his belonging to the Jewish people in exceptionally strong terms:

I was circumcised on the eighth day. I am a descendent from the people of Israel (ἐκ γένους Ἰσραὴλ), the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews (Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων),²⁷ a Pharisee as to the observance of the Law, and as to my devotion to the Law--a persecutor of the Church . . . (Phillippians 3:5-6)

Here again, the more Paul secedes from the Old Covenant and criticizes those who abide by it, the more he makes a clear-cut distinction between the contemporary Ioudaioi who reject Christ and the Hebrews of old in whose traditions he leads the new believers. By using the unprecedented superlative for "Hebrews," he demonstrates even more his affection and pride of being an Ἑβραῖος.

Epistle to the Hebrews

This work, although addressed to a group whose name is so many times used in Paul's Epistles in a definite meaning, as we have shown above, does not contain in itself any material which would enable identification of those Hebrews to whom the author purportedly addresses himself. Though attributed to Paul, its authorship is debated by most

²⁷ Paul, as in the case of the 39 strokes discussed earlier, shows here again that he is thinking in Hebrew, or at least that he has the perfect mastery of Hebrew language, by using a superlative of the nature of "Shir-ha Shirim," the "Song of Songs," intending to declare: I am the best among the Hebrews!

critics, and only its date is generally accepted to be A.D. 90, a period of persecution of Christians. Recently, in connection with the study of the Dead Sea scrolls and sects, Yigael Yadin has suggested that the author of "Hebrews" addressed himself to the members of a Dead Sea sect in the end of the first century A.D.²⁸ He analyzes the content of the doctrines enunciated by the author of the Epistle and finds that they are suitable only to those held by the Dead Sea sects. Although it is not our task to debate Yadin's theory, we shall benefit from his readily available quotations of the opinions of scholars on who the addressed Hebrews are: (All quotations are Yadin's.)

To whom, then, does he (the author) address himself?
 . . . There is nothing in the Epistle to indicate that it was meant particularly for Jewish readers. In some respects, it is less Jewish in character than any other New Testament book. . . . The author addresses himself to neither Jews nor Gentiles, but to Christians as such. (E. F. Scott, The Literature of the New Testament. Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 199-201)

. . . The identity of the author and of his readers must be left in the midst where they already lay at the beginning of the 2nd Century. . . . The situation which called forth this remarkable piece of primitive Christian thought had nothing to do with any movement of contemporary Judaism. (James Moffat, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Edinburgh, 1948, p. LX)

But it is unlikely that Jews were intended as addressees. The Judaism described in Hebrews is the Temple of the Old Testament, and not the Synagogue Judaism of Palestine, of of the Greek Dispersion. Its knowledge of Judaism comes from reading of the Bible, and not from first hand knowledge of a local Jewish synagogue. (S. Sandmel,

²⁸ Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of E. L. Sukenik, edited by Ch. Rabin and Y. Yadin, Jerusalem 1961. Y. Yadin: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews, p. 233.

A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament. H. U. C. Press, Cincinnati, 1956, p. 233)

. . . the first readers (of this work) must have been Gentiles not Jews. . . . The type of Gentile Christianity the author had to deal with, was an eclectic syncretistic system into which an amateur attachment to Levitical institutions entered as an element, and became so strong as to endanger the Christian faith with which it was associated, especially in time of persecution. (A. B. Bruce, Hastings Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. II, 1900, S. V. Hebrews, p. 337)

L'auteur s'adresse a des Juifs qui ont renoncé a leur ancienne religion, ont abandonné les rites et les observances Mosaiques, et se sont agregés a l'Eglise visible. Ils ont confessé, Jesus comme Messie et Sauver (xii, 8). Mais la transition de l'ancien ordre de choses au nouveau est psychologiquement ardue. (C. Spicq, L'Epître aux Hebreux: Introduction, Paris, 1952, p. 5)

This whole spectrum of opinions is made on analytical grounds of the content of the Epistle. We, however, following our analysis of Paul's view and pride in being a Hebrew of Hebrews, are fully in agreement with the French analyst. It fits well with Paul's gentle treatment of the Jews in Romans 11:1-2 and Phillipians 3:5-6. A spirit of adoration for the Israelitês, the Hebrews, a pride in belonging to the stock of Abraham, all these were traits of the Pauline attitude to the new followers whether of Jewish or non-Jewish origin. No hate for the Jewish people emanated from Paul's mouth. The affectionate sentiment towards Hebrews, undoubtedly extended to the authors following in the footsteps of Paul, immitating his style and using similar quotations. As to Yadin's theory that the author of Hebrews addresses a small desert sect, this can hardly be the case. Paul was not bent after small Jewish sects. A widely

travelled cosmopolitan citizen of the Oikoumené, agitating, advocating, persuading, these were his methods of action and the scenes of his activity were only the great centers of the Greco-Roman cities. The Jews and the synagogues were everywhere a means and a first step in order to reach the masses of the Gentiles. His followers, and among them the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, would not busy themselves with a small fringe sect in the Judaeen Desert.²⁹ Their eyes and attention were raised to the Jewish centers in the Diaspora which were the ferment of the new movement. If a schism indeed occurred in these Jewish communities and the newly Christianized Jews were excommunicated from among their Jewish community or synagogue, then a de facto regrouping took place in the Jewish society. The synagogue men would still be named Ioudaioi among themselves, and by the surrounding Gentiles. What about the new secessionists? On the one hand, they would probably have been called by contemptuous names by the Jews, at best, as in the case we cited above where Ananias the High Priest defines them before Felix: Nazarenes. But in their new Church, for some time they would still feel as strangers and, as Spicq says above, would have a hard psychological task to adjust themselves to the new society, feeling "home-sick" for the ancient customs. On the other hand, they would not be called Ioudaioi, by their Gentile fellow believers which,

²⁹Philo's estimate of the Essenes, is that they numbered only some 4000 (Vol. IX:75).

as we have seen, already had a slightly negative connotation in Paul's own time. But, as in the early days of the Church in Jerusalem (Acts 6:1) they would have been called 'Hebrews.' These 'Hebrews' needed the attention of the Church lest they regret their new conversion and, out of attachment to old customs still prevailing among them, return to their ancient religion. The Epistle to the Hebrews, addresses itself precisely to those Jews who are no more Ioudaioi by their creed, but are neither Romans, Greeks nor Syrians. They are, though, Hebrews.

Paul's contribution to the appellation of the Jews

Paul's contribution to the appellation of the Jews by the Christians is immense. As a Pharisaic Jew, he was faithful to the Mosaic Law. On the other hand, as a reformer of the "petrified" concepts of Pharisaic Judaism, he was preaching that the belief in Christ as the Messiah, relieves the Jewish converts from their symbolic union with the ancestors of the Jews, Abraham the 'Hebraios,' and from the act that physically expresses this union: the berit milah, circumcision. However, he strived to prove that he was not a founder of a new religion, but continued the teachings of the ancestors of Israel.. He could only do this by anchoring the new faith in Abraham the 'Hebraios, who by his 'berit' with God was the very source of the Jewish religion. Linking Christ, the Son of God, to Abraham was, at the same time, giving the appellation 'Hebraios' and 'זרע אברהם' --

"Abraham's offspring" to all Christian believers.

By this act, however, Paul departed far too much from his Pharisaic school's concept of עַבְרִי. We have seen in our analysis of the Bible that while all Prophets, Ezra and the Chronicler always used 'Israel' and Benei Israel as the affectionate appellation of the Jews, none of them ever expressed any particular sentiment for the appellation עַבְרִי. Our analysis of the relevant material contained in the Talmud and the Midrashim will confirm that the same was true for the Rabbis. In Paul's lifetime, no Jewish source, even Philo, indicated a different attitude to עַבְרִי. It was a reference term to a bygone historical fact, that Abraham the ancestor of his people was called עַבְרִי because he crossed 'the River'. But it had no affectionate value and no national pride was attached to it. The only ones who took pride in the appellation 'Hebraios' before Paul, were, as we have seen, the Jewish Hellenistic writers.³⁰

While there was truth in Paul's affection for the term 'Israelitês,' being based on a long-standing tradition in the Bible (and in particular in Psalms, which were to become the Church's expression of the adoration of Israel), there was no such basis for 'Hebraios.' He was the first to give it its affectionate standing in the Christian Church. The Church Fathers continued in his footsteps, and as the Christian-Jewish polemics grew in intensity in the second century, they introduced into the literature and, consequently,

³⁰ II Macc.; IV Macc.; Psalms of Solomon; The Sybilline Oracles.

into the daily life the two diametrically opposed concepts of values contained in the three known appellations relating to the Jewish nation and Judaism: (a) the Ἰουδαῖος is condemned (b) the Ἑβραῖος and Ἰσραηλῆτης are the blessed ancestors of the Christians. The foundation for the confrontation, "they" (Ioudaioi) versus "we" (Israelites, Hebraioi), was laid by Paul in 2 Corinthians 11:22.

Some common approaches of Paul and Josephus

To sum up the relationship of Hebraios to Ioudaios in the Greco-Roman world, we would choose a definition of Ioudaios by George Foot Moore. Writing about the distinction between Judaism and other religions and other churches in the East in the period of the creation of the synagogues between the Maccabean struggle and the fall of Jerusalem he says:³¹

The Jews, on the contrary, were both in their own mind and in the eyes of their Gentile surrounding, and before Roman Law, not adherents of a peculiar religion, but members of a nation who carried with them from the Land of their origin into every quarter where they established themselves, their national religion and their national customs. In the Roman codes and legal text books they are called natio, gens, populus, in Greek, .

From this definition it becomes clear that:

a) A man can lose his identity as Ioudaios once he abandones his national religion, Judaism. Talking of his

³¹ George Foot Moore, Judaism, Shoken, N.Y., 1971, Vol. I, p. 233. Emphasis mine.

ancestry one would rightly call himself Hebraios (case of converts to Christianity).

b) After the Destruction of the Temple, a Ioudaios stripped of the two main affinities of his appellation--his national state and his national cultic center--could well choose to be called Hebraios, thus implying that the two calamities which occurred to his people did not cause him to abandon his ancestral traditions.

Paul and Josephus, each for varying reasons, have made usage of this doctrine when they resorted to the exhortation of the term Hebraios. The former did it, no doubt, out of considerations of voluntarily abandoning the "petrified" frame of the Jewish nation and Old Covenant and becoming a universalist. The latter was forcibly removed from the scene of the national activity and, while living in Rome stripped of his political identity as Ioudaios, thought it appropriate to introduce himself to the world as a man whose ancestry is very noble, the Patriarchs, the Hebraioi, and say: "I, Josephus son of Matthias, a Hebrew by race (γενεὶ Ἑβραῖος), a native of Jerusalem and a Priest . . ." (The Wars, Book 1.3).

In conclusion, at the beginning of the second century C.E., the Greco-Roman world was given more explicit information about the two appellations of the Jews, heretofore garbed in an air of mystery. It came from two competent sources: the historian, Josephus, and the defector from Judaism and teacher of the Christian Church, Paul.

The Christian Sector--Early Period

Philo, Josephus and Paul, in their writings in the first century A.D., have introduced to the non-Jewish reader the notion that the Hebrew ancestors were different from the contemporary Ioudaioi. The Romans had their wars with the rebellious Ioudaioi; ultimately, they crushed their adversaries, and humbled them before the whole community of nations in the Oikoumené. On the other hand, the seceding Judeo-Christians had their ideological struggle with the Jews in Palestine as well as in the Dispersion, a struggle on a considerable scale, in the fatefull events of the period, the two wars against the Romans. In the war of A.D. 66-70, the Judeo-Christians, who did not wish to participate in the national war, were not persecuted by the Jewish leaders; they voluntarily chose to leave the capital city and move to Pella in Peraea. But the opposite happened during the Bar Cocheba revolt. Their persecution took on a much sharper and more active form. Bar Cocheba requested them to renounce Jesus as Messiah and, instead, recognize him as the Messiah of Israel. Their refusal to do so caused them to suffer greatly. Eusebius quotes a contemporary writer, Hegesippus, who says:

For in the present Jewish war it was only Christians whom Bar Cocheba, the leader of the rebellion of the Jews, commanded to be punished severely if they did not deny Jesus as the Messiah and blaspheme him.³²

³²Eusebius. The Ecclesiastical History. Op. Cit. Vol. I. Book IV, VIII, 4-7. See also Justin Martyr's testimony, p. 217, infra.

As a result of the crushing of the revolt by Hadrian, the remnants of Jewish Jerusalem were erased. On the ground of the razed city, a new, Roman-type city with a Forum and Pagan temples came into being, renamed Aelia Capitolina in Hadrian's honor. Jews were banished from the new city and this interdict included all circumcised people. The avenging Romans sent to martyrdom the flower of the Jewish community leaders and its sages ("The Ten Martyrs of the Kingdom"), and massacred the people of Judaea in numbers unprecedented in the history of Jewish resistance to foreign rule,³³ the Christians were already a well organized Church, and did their best to adjust to the new conditions. The complete separation from the mother religion came with the nomination of the first uncircumcised bishop in Jerusalem in A.D. 141. The Christians could now disdainfully look upon the Jews as having received, twice in 65 years, God's severe punishment for their crimes against Jesus, his Apostles, and the young Church.

The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers

A distinction has necessarily to be made between the writings of the early Apostolic Fathers and the later writers. Barnard³⁴ defines their name as "a group of

³³G. Allon, *Toldot Ha-Yehudim*, Op. Cit. Vol. II, p.53. He quotes Dio-Cassius as testifying that the number of killed in Hadrian's war was over half a million, in addition to slaves sold on the slave markets. He also quotes various Midrashim agreeing in the matter.

³⁴L. W. Barnard. Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background. N.Y. 1962, Introduction.

Christian writers who, it was alleged, had possessed either a historical connection with the Apostles, or had set forth doctrinal teaching in accord with that of the Apostles."

It is evident that we are speaking about men who lived in the period extending between ca. A.D. 90 and 150. They are: Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Hermas and Polycarp. Two other writings of these groups are named: the Epistle to Diognetus and the Didachē.

In political and religious spheres this was one of the most turbulent periods of the century in terms of Roman-Jewish-Christian relations: the excommunication of the Minim by the Sanhedrin in Jamnia, the failure of the Bar Cocheba revolt, the Hadrianic ordinances of Shemaḏ, and, at the same time, the growing separation of the Church from the mother religion, and the beginning of a more forceful campaign of conversion among Jews and Pagans. These writers have not yet departed much from the language used by the authors of the Epistles in the New Testament. The genre they use is also epistolary³⁵ addressed to the various Christian communities in the Near East. None of them uses the appellation Hebraios, and the usage of the other two appellations, Ioudaios and Israel, points to a gradual chronological development in the attitude of the early Church Fathers to the Jews, which is expressed in the qualification they attach to these appellations.

³⁵ The Apostolic Fathers. Loeb Classical Library. Harvard, 1927. 2 vols.

Barnabas, a converted Rabbi and a contemporary of Paul, calls the Jews "Israel" in all periods of the people's existence: in the Desert of Sinai, during the Second Commonwealth, and even when it is doomed--in his view--for destruction.

Again it was made manifest that the city and the Temple and the people of Israel were to be delivered up [for destruction] . . . (Epistle XII.5)

Ignatius, whose activity was in Antioch, the great Hellenistic center of the East, designates the Jews among whom the Church is active, as Ioudaioi. His remarks about Judaism and circumcision express the realities of the period in the Christian Church, when the recruited Jewish converts to Christianity already followed Paul's advice to abandon circumcision.

To the Philadelphians: But if anyone interprets Judaism to you do not listen to him. For it is better to hear Christianity from the circumcised, than Judaism from the uncircumcised. (Epistle VI)

His arguments refer to heretical teachings emanating from Gentile Christians, whom he berates as opposed to the circumcised (Jews), who are faithful converts.

Clement, who, scholars say, may have known Peter and Paul, was active in Rome in the lifetime of Domitian. His approach to the Jews is still friendly. No anti-Jewish feelings are expressed by him. He, just as Barnabas does, sees the Jews of the Biblical period as Israel.

St. Polycarp's martyrdom, ca. A.D. 156, occurred in a time when the polemics between the Jews and the Church were at a peak. (Justin Martyr's dialogue with the Jew Trypho, takes place approximately at the same time.) The passages relating the last hours of Polycarp's martyrdom (XIII), express the bitterness of the Christians in Smyrna against the united front formed by the Pagans and Jews in order to check the advance of Christianity. The hatred expressed against the Jews is understandable. Since the Christians sprung up from amongst their midst, the Jews must have been the active element in organizing the resistance to, and the persecution of, the Christian agitators. But Abrahams,³⁶ a well-known scholar of the Gospels, has another view of the role of the Jews in the persecution of Polycarp, and disagrees with the allegations made in the Epistle. '

The epistle to Diognetus contains offensive expressions towards the Jews (Ioudaioi). The superstition, fussiness, silliness and pride of the Jews are condemned. Here are some quotations:

. . . nor keep the superstition of the Jews . . . (I)

. . . you are anxious to hear why the Christians do not worship in the same way as the Jews (Ioudaioi).
(III)

So then I think that the Christians do rightly in abstaining from the general silliness and deceit and fussiness and pride of the Jews. (IV)

36

I. Abrahams. Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels.
N.Y. 1962, p. 83.

This Epistle, in its style, acrimonious tone, and mockery of the Jews, is the forerunner of the later Church-sponsored anti-Jewish propaganda, aiming to degrade the honor of the Jew, and with it, the appellation Ioudaios.

The Aftermath of the Hadrianic War
Against the Jews

The peak of the Romans' hatred against the Jew was reached during Hadrian's life. The contempt for everything connected with the appellation Ioudaios was now a common theme for both official Rome and the Christian Church. This did not start with the Christians, but was a result of the two wars the Romans conducted against the Jews within seventy years. After a four-year atrocious and ferocious struggle, the people of Judaea was ultimately crushed by the Titus-Vespasian campaigns. The Roman generals and the participants in the campaigns from the various Roman Legions carried with them back to Rome a sediment of ill feeling, hate and contempt towards this unique people who dared to resist Rome. While the victorious Roman generals, as a habit, adopted the names of the conquered peoples, e.g., Britanicus, Germanicus, etc., Titus and Vespasian expressly refused the title Judaicus.³⁷ Some scholars explain that this is due to the fact that the meaning of the adjective Judaicus carries with it an implication that the bearer is observing the Jewish rites for which both Titus and Vespasian had an open contempt.

³⁷Dio Cassius, Roman History. Loeb Classical Library, Vol. VI, XLVI.7.2.

Hadrian's war was far more ferocious than that of his predecessors. The Jews were ultimately crushed in the traditional Roman way:³⁸ destruction of their country, massacres, the erasure of all possible cultic observance and traditions. The Hadrianic persecutions were carried out with universal rigor and unscrupulousness. Witness to this are the numerous stories in the Talmud and Midrash about Jewish individuals, sages and institutions going into hiding, or disguising their Jewish identity.³⁹

This was the beginning of a crucial period in which what was once the glory of Israel dwindled away and the secessionist Nazarenes⁴⁰ finally emerged as the victor in the relentless struggle against their mother religion represented by the contemporary Jewish Rabbinical establishment. The Jews had the lower hand in that struggle. Theirs was an existence in a world of hate, and at the best, some scattered rays of tolerance sometimes penetrated the dark skies under which they lived.

Towards the last quarter of the second century, things had calmed down, and according to Talmudic and Midrashic

³⁸The main feature of the Roman vindictive policy towards their bitter enemies was razing their cities to the ground; this was the fate of Carthage in 202 B.C. and of Corinth in 146 B.C.

³⁹Some of the Aggadot indicative of those times are quoted in Sefer Ha-Agada of Bialik-Ravnitsky, op. cit. See n.41.

⁴⁰So are the early Christians designated by scholars. See Charles C. Torrey. Documents of the Primitive Church. N.Y. 1941, p. 8ff.

sources, mutual respect reigned between the Roman Emperor and the Patriarch Rabbi Judah Ha-Nasi. In the periods that preceded and followed this restored equilibrium, the Jews found tolerance on the part of the Pagans. The latter saw in the Jews an ally in combating the aggressive march of Christianity in its unchecked effort to uproot the pagan cult in the Empire.

The Church's activity was directed to convert people in two different sectors--the pagans and Jews. . . To this end their methods were different; they consisted both in written propaganda and polemics. Their literature directed towards the Pagans, aimed to edify the Christians in demonstrating the perfidy of the Jews; that directed at the Jews, on the other hand, had for its object to build up a cadre of missionaries well versed in the Old Testament in order to prove Jesus' true Messiaship. One of the methods used was to annoy the Jewish sages and involve them in polemics and open dialogues. The Midrash is abundant with tales of the well-organized campaign of the Christian polemicists, and the counteractions by the Rabbis.⁴¹ One of the great debates between a leading Christian saint and philosopher and an anonymous Jewish Rabbi (identified by some scholars as Rabbi Tarphon) who survived the Hadrianic persecutions is recorded in Justin Martyr's The Dialogue with the Jew Trypho.

⁴¹Bialik-Rabnitzki, *Sepher Ha-Aggada*, Op. Cit. This book is a compendium of all Aggadoth in the various Midrashim irrespective of their date and source. Many of them are of significant historical value. Our comments are based on these Aggadot.

Justin Martyr's Dialogue with the Jew Trypho

Justin, the Christian saint and martyr, is the author of two extant works dealing inter alia with Jews. They are 1) The First and Second Apology, and 2) Dialogue with the Jew Trypho. Both Apologies were written before the Dialogue. Justin was a native of Flavia Neapolis⁴² of Palestine Syria. Although a Samaritan by residence, he was, according to Bishop Kaye's⁴³ opinion, of Gentile parents. Justin's own opinion on the standing of Gentiles vis-a-vis the Jews is expressed in these words:

For all sorts of people are by the prophetic spirit styled Gentiles; but the Jews and Samaritans stand distinguished by the name of the house of Israel and Jacob.⁴⁴

His conversion from Platonism to Christianity may have taken place shortly before the Bar Cocheba uprising in A.D. 132-135. He came to Rome in ca. 150 and founded a school of philosophical instruction.⁴⁵

The Apology is addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, the adopted son of Hadrian. Justin, therefore, has fresh memories and impressions of the Bar Cocheba revolt and knowing its repercussions on the Roman, Christian, and

⁴²Built by the Romans close by and a little west of Schechem.

⁴³John Kaye. The First Apology of Justin Martyr. London, no date, p. 3.

⁴⁴Ib., Chapt. I. p. 8

⁴⁵Ib., Chapt. LXIII, end.

Jewish publics, he gives expression to his direct feelings towards the Jews. Writing about the circumstances of the translation of the Septuagint and its great propagation among the Jews he says:

And this translation is in the hands almost of every Jew all the world over; which though they read, they understand not, but blindly take Christians for their enemies, and whenever it is in their power, treat us as cruelly as you do. . . . For in the last Jewish War, Bar-Cochebas, the ring leader of the revolting Jews, ordered the Christians only to be dragged to the most grievous torments unless they would renounce and blaspheme Jesus Christ.⁴⁶

Justin, in his accusation against the Jews on a world wide scale as being the blind enemies of the Christians, is the forerunner of Eusebius' accusation 180 years later. His dialogue with Trypho the Jew is therefore not held on a neutral "scholastic" ground; rather, it resembles an arena where two wrestlers deeply embeded in their respective welt anschaung and their mutual prejudices combate each other.

The "Jews" in the Biblical period are called by him Ioudaioi and not Hebrews. But the language of the prophets is "Hebrew."

There were of old, among the Jews, certain prophets of God, by whom the prophetic spirit made proclamation of things to come long before they were in being. These prophecies, just as they were delivered, were committed to writing by the prophets themselves in their own Hebrew mother tongue . . .

⁴⁶Ib., Chapt. XL. By "you" he means the Romans, referring to their persecutions of the Christians. **Emphasis mine.**

He considers the Jews as a nation without a destination for political independence, and asks the addressed emperor to make this inquiry by himself into "How long the Jews had a prince or a ruler of their own." The name "Jews" (Ioudaioi) for the nation, originates, in Justin's opinion, not from Judaea the land, as claims Josephus, but from Judah the tribe,⁴⁷ and all this with the purpose of proving the veracity of his quotation from Gen. 49:10. "That a Lawgiver shall not depart from Judah until Shiloh come." "But after the coming of Shiloh," Justin explains, the razing to the ground of the Temple, and the subjugation of the Jews to foreign rule is all justified, and is a realization of the Biblical prophecy.

Naturally, the indoctrination of this view into the Jewish, Christian and Pagan world of the Oikoumené was on a very wide scale. The methods and arguments of propaganda differed for each constituency. The resisting Jews were told that this was the true interpretation of Scripture. To the Romans and the Pagan world, the approach was based on an amalgamation of Roman culture and the teachings of the Greek philosophers. Among others, Justin gave the Romans an excuse from the alleged severe treatment of the Jewish nation in their wars. "It was foretold by the prophetic spirit that the land of the Jews shall be laid desolate."⁴⁸

⁴⁷Ib. Ib.: "For Judah was the father of the Jewish nation, and from whom they took the name Ioudaioi."

⁴⁸Ib. Chapt. XLII.

As to Jerusalem and the status of the Jews: "It was prophesized concerning this desolation, that not a Jew should be tolerated to live there."⁴⁹ Moreover, Justin rejoices at the Romans having taken legislative measures to forbid the Jews "to set foot in their own country."⁵⁰

As opposed to these "modern Jews" (Chapter LXXXII, beginning) whose "virtues" and guilts he so clearly exposes to the attention of the Roman Emperor, Justin sympathetically treats "the people of Israel" in Moses' time, Moses was to conduct the "Israelites" out of Egypt (LXXXI). But these usages are very limited and are only used as supportive quotations in his general endeavor to explain the transition from Biblical history to the advent of Jesus, His rejection by the "modern Jews," and the justification of their sufferings.

With this background on Justin we proceed to his second work, the Dialogue with the Jew Trypho.⁵¹ Our interest will be limited, as it was before, to Justin's appellation of the Jews.

Commenting on the first chapter, the editor of the Dialogue, Van Winden, says:

⁴⁹Ib. Ib. He refers to the recent Hadrianic interdiction against Jews.

⁵⁰Ib. Ib. See also Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, Op. Cit., Book IV, Chapt. 4, concerning this interdict to enter the Holy Land under pain of death.

⁵¹J. C. N. Van Winden. An Early Christian Philosopher. Justin Martyr's Dialogue with the Jew Trypho, Leiden, 1971.

The question whether this dialogue is a historical record of an actual event or literary fiction is much debated . . . ⁵²

Whatever be the case, it is Justin, the converted Samaritan, (or Neapolitan Gentile) who addresses the stranger, who in return identifies himself not as a Ioudaios, but "Ἑβραῖος ἐκ περιτομῆς." The Dialogue goes this way:

--Justin: τίς δὲ σὺ ἔσσε γερῖστε βρότων ; Who among all mortals are you, my friend?

The man replied simply giving at once his name and his origin (Greek: γένος).

--The "Stranger":

Τρύφων, φησὶ καλοῦμαι. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἑβραῖος ἐκ περιτομῆς, γυγόντων τῶν νῦν γένομενόν πολεμῶν, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Κορίνθῳ, τὰ πολλὰ διαγόν.

My name is Tryphon he said. I am a Hebrew of the circumcision, a refugee from the present war, living mostly in Greece and especially in Corinth.⁵³

Analysis of the Greek passage

Windén, along with other scholars, rejects the view of those who try to identify Tryphon with Rabbi Akiba's contemporary Rabbi Tarphon.⁵⁴ Although the Bar Cocheba revolt occurred in A.D. 132-135, and the refuge [of Jews] in Corinth could have taken place as early as in 136, the writing of the Dialogue is ascribed by Windén only to ca. 152, and

⁵²Op. Cit. p. 17.

⁵³Ib. The Dialogue, Greek Text, Chapt. I.

⁵⁴Ib. p. 28.

depending on our approach to the nature of this work (see above), Justin is shaping for us his opponent from impressions he acquired some 15 years earlier in the heat of the conflagration between the Romans and the Jews. Although in the Apology Justin speaks without exception of Jews as Ioudaioi, his new interlocutor is introduced by him as a Hebraios. So did Josephus in his presentation of his credentials to the Roman public.⁵⁵ At once it is apparent that both Justin and Josephus have a reasonable cause for this usage: both use it as a term to define one's ancestry "γένος". For so says Justin: He at once (simply, or simultaneously) gave both "his name and his "genos."⁵⁶ In doing this, both Justin and Josephus act as if saying to their readers: Let's shelve, for a while, the passions which arise from the usage of the term Ioudaios. But Justin introduces a new category of Hebraios, unknown from other sources, namely an "Ἑβραῖος ἐκ περιτομῆς," a "Hebrew of the circumcision." At once the question arises, are there Hebrews who are uncircumcised? The reply from the Jewish practical standpoint is absolutely negative. Therefore, one has to eliminate the possibility of such a reply coming from the mouth of Trypho himself as meaningless. Neither

⁵⁵ The War, Op. Cit. Vol. I, p. 3. " . . .
."

⁵⁶ γένος is unfortunately translated in English by most scholars as "race," a term which in the twentieth century has a connotation of racial strife and antipathy. Josephus' usage was, on the contrary, a purely positive notion of honorable descent, from famous ancestors. Such is also the case of Trypho in the eyes of Justin.

Josephus nor Paulus found it necessary to use such a formula, nor do we find any other literary source indicating such a usage. The composite term is, therefore, entirely Justin's literary creation. For hypothetical reasoning we may suppose that in Justin's times there were some Ἑβραῖοι non-circumcised. Who could they be?

1) A second-generation Ἑβραῖος, whose father was, in the end of the first century, a follower of Paul's doctrines of the abolition of circumcision, and who consequently would not have circumcised his born sons. Such a son, would still reasonably belong to the genos of the Ἑβραῖοι, but would not be circumcised.

The "first-generation" men are exemplified by the episode told in Acts 6:1. The "second-generation" men, may be among those to whom the "Epistle to the Hebrews" was addressed.⁵⁷

2) An Ἑβραῖος ἐκ περιτομῆς may be defined as a "genuine Jew," as opposed to a "Proselyte Jew." If Justin made such a distinction, the motivation behind it would be that both the genuine Jew and the Proselyte have the circumcision, but the difference is in the "genos." Trypho was an Ἑβραῖος, while Aquilas, for instance, was a Pontian by descendance (κατὰ γένον).

3) Justin may have made this distinction from a "Χριστιανὸς ἐκ περιτομῆς." Circumcised Christians in the

⁵⁷For comments on the "Hebrews" in both cases, see pp. 200-204, *supra*.

communities of the Ebionites or others were, according to Eusebius⁵⁸ very numerous. Justin, as well as Eusebius, finds it necessary to stress the purity and outstanding figure of the other party to the dialogue, so that the outcome may be better appreciated. Eusebius indicates this tendency by speaking of Trypho as "one of the most notable contemporary Hebrews" ("τῶν τότε Ἑβραίων ἐπιβιμπράτων").

Conclusions

In the Apologies and the Dialogue, Justin Martyr is demonstrating the sentiment of the Christian polemicists towards the Jews in the post-Bar Cocheba period: Justification of the destruction of the Jewish national entity, and of the Hadrianic persecutions. He is the first important writer to indicate that the contemporary Jews-Ioudaioi do not follow in the steps of the ancient people of Israel, from which it would follow that it is the Christians who are the New Israel.

In his arguments, Justin is the forerunner of Eusebius, whose attacks on the Jews were expressed in a more accusatory tone.

A few words about the nature of Justin's writings: Winden⁵⁹ says, that twenty-five years separate "The Dialogue" from the date of his conversion, therefore it was written

⁵⁸Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. Op. Cit. Book III.XXVII.1.

⁵⁹Winden, The Dialogue. Op. Cit. p. 127.

sometime in 155, a period of turbulence in Jewish history after the period of the "Shemad" decrees. Winden is of the opinion, that The Dialogue is pure literary fiction. It is therefore an expression of propaganda literature, and a tool which the early Church Fathers gave to the cadres of missionaries acting among the Jews in their effort to demonstrate the "True meaning of Scripture" and to accomplish their conversion.

The Pagan Sector

As a result of the spread of Christianity in the Oikoumené in the second century C.E., the Greek-reading public could avail itself of more information about the contemporary Jews and their ancestors; and Christianity was considered, by the Pagans, as a sect within Judaism. The aura of mystery surrounding the ancient Hebrews demonstrated by Plutarch (See pp. 102-105 above), dissipated slowly with the appearance of the Christian literature.

There was, however, in addition, another factor which contributed to the clarification of the term Hebraios. The political conditions pertaining in the Jewish sector of the population--its subjection to the persecutions of Hadrian, and consequently the phenomenon of Jews hiding their identity as "Ioudaios"--may have had their share in the popularization of the other name of the Jews, Hebraios. It could have meant a contemporary Jew who wished to adjust to the new political conditions, to be let alone to live in

peace with the Roman authorities and surrounding society, and to be identified only as a Hebraios by descent.

The pagan writers of the second century resort, therefore, to the usage--in a limited manner--of the appellation Hebraios alongside the popular Ioudaios.

Latin-Writing Authors

Tacitus

The famous historian of the first and second centuries, reporting about the war council held by Titus prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, knows that the Christians originated among the Jews, and that the new faith stems from Judaism. "If the root will be annihilated, the stem will perish as well."⁶⁰ He puts this opinion in the mouth of Titus, but undoubtedly it is also his own. Nevertheless, he is still investigating the origins of the Jews, and gives three current versions: 1) They are a branch of the Ethiopians. 2) They originate from a people that lived in Crete close to mount Ida, and were therefore called "Ideans." Through corruption, the name became "Judaeans." 3) Some say they originate from the famous people called by Homer, the Solymiens.⁶¹

Despite this, he expresses in his *Histories* (V.5) a most respectful view of the religion of the Jews, and their opposition to the idolators, "all who with perishable

⁶⁰ Reinach, Text #177.

⁶¹ Ib., Text #180.

materials wrought into the human forms attempt to give a representation of the deity."

Among the Latin writers he is the first to designate Jewish cities by the adjective Hebrew. (Later done by Pausanias, the Greek.) He speaks of "the nearby cities and Hebrew lands near Syria" (*mox proprias urbes Hebraesque terras Syriae coluisse*).⁶²

Juvenal

The Roman satirical poet of the first and second centuries A.D., unlike Tacitus, had a critical view of the Jews and their customs:

Some, whose fate is to have a father who reverences the Sabbath, bow down to nothing except the clouds and the divinity of heaven; regarding with equal loathing the flesh of man and swine, following the traditions of their fathers. Soon too, they submit to circumcision. Taught to deride the Roman ritual, they study observe and reverence those Jewish statutes found in the mystic volume of Moses--such as never point the road to make the fountain known, except to the circumcised alone. But their bigot father taught them this, who whiled away each revolving day in sloth, and kept aloof from life's daily duties.⁶³

His views are similar to those of Ovid, Horace and Seneca.

Hadrian

The emperor, who crushed the Bar-Chocheba revolt in A.D. 131-134 and was later bent on a ruthless campaign to uproot

⁶²Ib., Text #302.

⁶³Ramage. Selection of Classical Poetry, N.Y., 1930. p. 323. (Sat. XIV.96)

Judaism, wrote: "Their only God is money. It's "Him" that the Christians and the Jews serve in the whole world . . ." ⁶⁴ His view is typical of the Roman intellectuals: seeing Judaism and Christianity as two sides of the same coin, an evil to be uprooted.

Greek-Writing Authors

Among the Greek-writing authors of the "post-A.D. 70 period," some are critical of the Jews, others not. The appellation Hebraios emerges in their writings in various forms and contexts, and testifies that not for all of them did it have the same meaning.

Lucian of Samosata

A Sophist and Satyrist ca. 170 A.D., Lucian writes:

(i) There is no remedy says the gout which men have not tried against me: vegetable medicines, animals, minerals, etc., holy tricks, magic words etc.

Another fool lets himself be taken by the ruse of a Jew . . .
(Tragospodagra, Dial. 80, v. 173)

(ii) Elsewhere in Dial. 32 and 13, speaking also about a charlatan, the impostor Alexander of Abonotique, Lucian makes him pronounce obscure words: δια γεραιζ'αν

⁶⁴ Reinach, Text #181.

Ἑβραίων οἱ Φοινίκων .⁶⁵

Charax of Pergamos

A priest, philosopher, archeologist, probably in the second half of the second century. His explanation of the term "Hebraios" comes from "Fragments of Stephen of Byzantium."

Hebraioi--so Jews are called, from the name of Abraham, as stated by Charax.⁶⁶

Pausanias the "Periegetes"

Outstanding in the group of writers in his clear and decisive usage of Ἑβραῖος, is Pausanias the "Periegetes", the author of the famous Geography of Greece.⁶⁷ He writes in ca. 175 A.D. His visit to Palestine occurs in a time when the country is already ruled by the Romans as Palestine, part of the reorganized Near East. But some tranquility has returned to the land, and it is close to the period of R. Judah Ha-Nasi. The administrative name of Palestine given to the country by the Romans did not prevent the Jews there and in the Diaspora from calling it Eretz Israel. Pausanias calls it the Land of the Hebrews (γῆ Ἑβραίων), and ignores "Palestine" or Ioudaioi.

⁶⁵Ib., Text #84. Reinach points to the obscurity of the meaning. He notes, however, that Lucian also knew of Hebrews as a nation; whether it relates to the ancient or contemporary Jews is not clear.

⁶⁶Ib., Text #82

⁶⁷Pausanias, Geography of Greece. Loeb Classical Library. 10 vols.

In the Land of the Hebrews I saw myself a river, the Jordan, which traverses the lake of Tiberias, and falling into another lake called "Dead Sea." (Book V, 7, 4-5)

Similarly, he uses "Hebrew" to designate the Jewish people living in that time in Palestine: (V, 5, 2) (VI, 24, 8) (VIII, 16, 4-5).

In another passage, Pausanias even calls Jews who live outside Palestine, "Hebrews".

After Demo (The Sybille of Cumes) there appeared among the Hebrews who live above Palestine (ὅπερ τῆς παλαιστίνης) a woman who delivered oracles and whose name was Sabbe . . . (X, 12.9)

Arian of Nicomedia

A statesman, historian and philosopher in the time of Hadrian, Antoninus and Marc Aurelius, who presents an aspect of the life of the Jews in his time, which strikes with its unusual emotional appeal. It deals with the problems of conversion, or hiding one's identity, and the attitude of the surrounding society. Arian brings the following passage from "Discourses of Epictete".

Why do you pretend being a stoic? Why do you deceive the public? Why do you pose as a Ioudaios when you are a Greek? Don't you see what it means when one says: So and so is a Jew, a Syrian, an Egyptian? When we see a man who is half this and half that, we say: 'He is not a Ioudaios but poses as one.' It is only when he takes on the "sentiments" of the "baptised," and the chosen, that he becomes in reality a Ioudaios, and he is then called so. It is the same with us, the ill-painted believers, Ioudaioi by name, but not in fact. Our sentiments

do not respond to our language. We are far from making reality of our oral sayings, and of what we are proud to know.⁶⁸

This situation existed in the mid-second century C.E.

Towards the end of the century tolerance was restored, but it vanished again at the first half of the third century.

An expression of keen anti-Jewish hatred, based on pragmatic facts of life well understood by the pagan readers, is given by the next writer.

Philostrates

Attacking the particularism, separatism and insociability of the Jews, Philostrates (A.D. 180-250) had this to say:

For this people has of old revolted not only against the Romans, but against humanity as a whole. People who have invented an insociable way of life, do not share with their fellow-men neither the table, nor libations, prayers or sacrifices, are farther away from us than Suga or Bactria, or even farther more than the India itself.⁶⁹

His observations are a renewal of the longstanding grievances raised by the Greeks in the Hellenistic period against the Jews in the cities of the Oikoumené.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Stern Text #254. A similar remark is made in Talmud א"י יהודאי יהודאי, אי ארמאי ארמאי.

⁶⁹ Reinach, Text #96.
⁷⁰

See Introduction to Anti-Jewish Writers, Chapter Three, p. 110.

Celsus and Porphyry

Among the Pagan writers of the third century are two philosophers: Celsus and Porphyry. Celsus attacked Christians for misrepresenting the Old Testament, and evoked a reply by Origen. Porphyry, however, is the only writer who simultaneously used both appellations of the Jews. He was a neo-Platonian philosopher and grammarian, writing in the second half of the third century. As a native of Tyre he was well acquainted with the region of Phoenicia, and with the Jews. Writing on the views of various peoples to animals as a nourishment, he says:

- (i) The Phoenicians and the Ioudaioi abstain from the usage of pork . . .
- (ii) When one sees that the Syrians do not touch fish, the Hebrews (do not touch) porc, and most of the Phoenicians and Egyptians--a cow . . .⁷¹

The second quotation, apposing Hebrews beside the Syrians would undoubtedly indicate that the appellation applied to the contemporary Jews. The term had therefore gained a certain degree of usage in the pagan world.

The Mishnah--A Reaffirmation of the Living Israel

The Mishnah which is a collection of Halakhot (Laws, ordinances) of Judaism, expanding on those contained in the Bible with such relevant additions as life made necessary in

⁷¹Reinach, Text #116, 1-2.

the days of its compilers, was committed to writing in the days of the Patriarch Rabbi Judah Ha-Nasi . The final version was compiled by Rabbi himself, and scholars generally agree that the event took place sometime around 200 C.E.⁷² Its language is Hebrew (designated as "Mishnaic") and, being an up-to-date code sanctioned by the highest Jewish civil and religious authority, it reflects the sentiment of its compilers to the appellations of the Jews.

The rules, ordinances and precepts are classified by topics in six Orders. They contain, besides regulations pertaining to the religious observances of the Jew, a whole series of laws and "advices" to the contemporary Jew on his behavior to aliens in the individual as well as the communal plane. It is these parts of the Mishna that throw a special light on the problem of the appellation of the Jew in the Mishnaic period.

The subject of this codification literature, is the individual Jew. His appellation in the Codex is therefore his legal name for all purposes and intent, within the Jewish community. We have called such a usage "internal,"⁷³ and indeed, 130 years of history--in which the Jews, after a radical change in their national status, were subject to the administrative and popular appellations of 'Ioudaios' (= יְהוּדַי) --did not make a difference in this determination,

⁷²Herman L. Strack. Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash. N.Y., 1972, p. 20.

⁷³See Introduction, p. 3, supra.

that a Jew is called always, only 'Israel,' and nothing else. This postulate is verified not only when the subject of the Codex is an individual Jew, or any number of Jews acting within their national sector. But even when the regulations or rules of conduct are in the intersectorial, or intercommunal plane and the Jew "Israel" is confronted with an alien, he, the Jew, is still identified as Israel, although his legal opponent or party is designated by the Mishnah by various names: goy (a Gentile), Akum (an idolator), Nokhri (an alien), Kuti (a Chutaeen, or Samaritan).

The individual is always called Israel⁷⁴ (Halak 3:5, 4:7 etc.). The appellation when used in the adjectival form "ישראל" is applied only to designate the common status of the Jew: Israelite, Levite, Priest (Kohen) (Peah 8:6)

The appellation 'Israel' is also a common proper name of the nation. The Mishnah says: In the event when "aliens" assailed a group of women and demanded that one of them should be handed over to them for violation, otherwise they would rape all of them, "Let all of them be raped, but they should not hand over [voluntarily] a soul from among Israel" (Trumoth 8:12). This is an appeal to national

⁷⁴The rendering of "Israelite" by modern translators is indeed very confusing, if one considers that the same formula is used by the English Bible to designate the Biblical ancestors of the second-century Jew.

solidarity in extremely dangerous circumstances, and is expressive of the education of the masses to responsible conduct under duress.

The tradition of designating 'Israel' as a nation goes back to the "pre-A.D. 70 period." The Mishnah quotes R. Simeon ben Gamaliel as saying: "There were no nicer days for Israel than the 15th of Ab and the Day of Atonement . . . (Ta'anit 4:8). The Mishnah is therefore a collection of national traditions as well, and the appellation Israel was apparently used in the Jewish sector before the destruction of the Temple, exactly in the same context, as the compilers of the Mishnah did in ca. 200 A.D.

Another strong testimony in this respect is afforded by Rabbi Akiba's statement on the status of the Song of Songs in the Canon:

No man of Israel has ever disputed the fact that Song of Songs does not defile the hands; for the whole world is not as worthy as the day on which Song of Songs was given to Israel. (Yadaim 3:5)

The 'external' appellations Ioudaios or the partly revived (by Pagans and Christians) 'Hebraios' did not have any impact on the Jewish leaders whatsoever. The Jewish masses may have succumbed to external influence, and changed their appellation. But as far as Jewish literary evidence is concerned, there was no compromise in the long-standing policy of the earlier sages. The Jew remained Israel wherever he lived, and with whomever he consorted.

"Yehudit" in a non-ethnic meaning

The only case where the Mishnah departs from the general rule is a case in Order Nashim, tractate Kethuboth, dealing with a Jewish woman who behaves inappropriately towards her husband (Ket. 7:6). She is said to be violating two laws: the Mosaic Law (Dath Moshé) and the Judaic Law (Dath Yehudit). This formula is apparently the other form of the Ketuba, form, which--in earlier times--used the sanctification of the married couple "in accordance with the Law of Moses and the Judaeans" (Kedath Moshe ve-Yehudain) (Yeb.14a). In this formula "Kedath" does not mean a religion but "a way of life," or the customs of the Judaeans. The Mishnah indeed explains its meaning:

And what is meant by "Dath Yehudith"? She walks out in public with her head uncovered, she spins in the market place, and talks to any man . . . (Ibid.)

As to the appellation "Hebrew," it is never used for designation of the Jews. In a few cases the language of the Bible and the paleo-Hebrew script are designated as "Hebrew" in linguistic contexts (e.g., Yadaim 4:5). In another case, it is used as a counterpart to a non-Jewish witness, where the Jewish witness is called "עֵד עִבְרִי" and the non-Jewish, "עֵד יוֹנִי." (Gittin 9:6) If "Yevani" is the Hebrew translation of Ἑλληνας, which in the New Testament is used to designate a Gentile, then עֵד עִבְרִי has the force of a Jewish witness. This possibility, however, is not well founded,

for the continuing debate in the Mishna 7 and 8, of the same chapter, proves that the problem in this case is the order of the apposed signatures of the witnesses, both being Jews but signing in two different languages--Greek and Hebrew.⁷⁵

The monumental literary creation of the Jewish nation in the period of consolidation of Judaism, after "the great schism," and the effort of "closing the ranks,"⁷⁶ had reaffirmed the unique status of the appellation "Israel", as the living name of the Jews in the second and third centuries, both as individuals and as a nation.

The Jews in the Pagan-Christian Polemics

The redaction of the Mishnah by Judah Ha-Nasi symbolized a normalization and stabilization of the situation of the Jews in the Oikoumené. The Jews found in the Pagans and the imperial institutions their natural allies against the aggressive and advancing Christian Church. While, on their part, they had only to undertake defensive measures against Christian missionary propaganda among their ranks,

⁷⁵ See Bertinoro, who explains that the case is with Israelites living in Greece and signing their names in Greek from left to right, while the other witnesses, signing in Hebrew, write from right to left. The possibility of confusion and difficulty in reading the signatures is the core of the problem, and not an ethnic confrontation, Jew versus Greek.

⁷⁶ The two quotes are Salo W. Baron's names of two chapters in his A Social and Religious History of the Jews. Philadelphia, 1952, Vol. II pp. 55, and 129.

the pagans had to resort to an active campaign of attacking Christianity and defending the imperial state, its pagan institutions, and the Greek pagan philosophies.

The ramifications of these polemics was one of the causes of the deterioration of the appellation *Ioudaios* in the non-Jewish sectors of the population. It is for these reasons that we record some passages from the famous polemicists of the age. Even though such passages do not contain directly the appellation, their content was the cause of the formation of an opinion that *Ioudaios* is a perplexing problem for the Church and society at large.

Irenaeus

Among the Ante-Nicene Fathers who resorted to polemics is Irenaeus of Lyons, whose activity falls in the last quarter of the second century. In ca. 185 he wrote a powerful work against the Christian heretics, Adversus Haereses.⁷⁷ The work is dedicated mostly to inner Christian sects. The only characteristic attack against the Jews comes again (as Justin Martyr's does) in connection with their misinterpretation of Isaiah 7:14, referring to the Virgin. Attacking the Ebionites, Theodotion and Aquila for their misinterpretations of the verse he then takes the "Jews" to task, and

⁷⁷ The Ante-Nicene Fathers, American Edition, N.Y., 1926, Vol. 1.,

ridicules them:

. . . they who boast themselves as being the House of Jacob and the people of Israel, are disinherited from the grace of God.⁷⁸

Clement of Alexandria

After Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria (ca. 153-215) is reckoned to be the father of Christian literature. Born of pagan parents, his admiration for Greek philosophy drove him to find a synthesis between the Old Testament and Greek philosophy. For him both were but two tributaries of the same river. His thesis was that the Greeks plagiarized Moses and the Prophets. His main works are: Exhortation to the Greeks, The Instructor and Stromata or Miscellanies. The first is designed to advise the heathens to turn to Christ; the second sees in the Old Testament a "tutor" to bring the Jews to Christ. Unlike his predecessors, he does not attack the Jews, but talks to them in calm persuasive language. He calls the Prophets "Hebrews" and says about the Greeks:

Well, be it so that 'the thieves and the robbers' are the philosophers among the Greeks, who, from the Hebrew prophets before the coming of the Lord received fragments of the truth, not with full knowledge and claimed these as their own teachings, disguising some points etc. (Stromata, Book I, XVII)

His esteem of Moses goes so far that he says: "Plato the philosopher, aided in legislation by the books of

⁷⁸Ib., Irenaeus, Against Heresies, Book III. XXI. p. 451.

Moses . . . " (Ib., XXV) Clement calls the Jews in the Exodus period "Hebrews" (Ib., XXIII), but Josephus Flavius is "the Jew who composed the history of the Jews" (Ib., XXI).

Clement therefore, fits well in the spiritual climate of the days of Judah Ha-Nasi. In literature, he is the first to designate the Prophets of Israel by the adjective "Hebrew," and we may see in him the father of this usage, which survived to our own days.

Tertullian

A native of Carthage, Tertullian is the founder of Latin Christian literature. Born in 160 to pagan parents, he converted to Christianity and became a priest. His talents in Law and Rhetoric made him a fiery defender of Christians against accusations of disloyalty to the Roman imperial institutions.

Among his many works, he wrote "An Answer to the Jews,"⁷⁹ in which a dispute held between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte, is presented by Tertullian in the form of questions and answers. Although his language is less acrimonious than Justin Martyr's, after resuming "the proofs" of the Scripture concerning the Messiahship of Jesus, in the manner of his predecessors, he concludes as well with a justification of the Jews' suffering:

⁷⁹ The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Op. Cit. Vol. III, VII, p. 151.

The Jews were predicted to as destined to suffer these calamities on Christ's account, and we find that they have suffered them, and see them sent into dispersion and abiding in it.⁸⁰

He also puts forward the Church's view, that "Israel has fallen away from the (true) faith" (Chapt. XII, p. 70). Consequently, the Jews are no more 'Israel,' but the Christians are its continuator.

Origen

Born in 185 in Alexandria, Origen was active against the pagan writers, in particular against Celsus. Christianity was seen at that time as a dangerous movement, not so much against the Jews, as against the very foundations of the pagan society. The Christians were scornful of the Pagans, and the latter made an effort to beat their enemies on the grounds of the Scriptures and philosophy. Celsus denounced the interpretation of the Scriptures by the Christians. Origen, who was a master in Biblical interpretation,⁸¹ wrote a reply, Contra Celsum. So the polemics intensified, the Jews being on the side. A sort of equilibrium between the three faiths or cults ensued. The state shifted its persecutions from the Jews to the Christians.

In the period of political anarchy (235-284), minor persecutions occurred, but for the most part this was, for

⁸⁰ Ib., p. 172, Chapt. XIII.

⁸¹ He edited the famous Hexapla version of the Bible, containing the extant Greek translations, and the original Hebrew text together with a Greek transcription.

Christianity, a period of unprecedented calm and rapid growth. Thus, an equilibrium was established between the Jews and Christians. But while the posture of the Jews was defensive, that of the Christians was decidedly offensive, its spearhead being directed towards the pagans, and the state institutions. Then, at the end of the century, when Diocletian engaged in an intense campaign against the Church, the fate of paganism was already sealed to doom. The Church was so powerful, and its believers so enthusiastically embraced the new doctrines, that the emperor himself crumbled in his beliefs. The persecutions rigorously started in 303, ended after eight years of active pursuit, with the full triumph of the Church which, oppressed by a succession of emperors, scathed, and put to sword, finally defeated the strongest state in history. Paganism--the unspoken ally of the Jews in their resistance to conversion--was defeated.

A new situation was created for the Jews. Constantine's embracing of Christianity came to them as a shock and a surprise. The equilibrium established in the time of the Antonins between the three currents of cultic life crumbled. They could now expect a new move from the Church, aided by the State authority. It took less than twenty years, and the attitude of the Church was made manifest in Eusebius' writings in 325 C.E.

Periodic Summary

Two hundred and fifty-five years have passed from the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem to the advent of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325. The status of the Jews underwent a radical change and with it the appraisal of their appellations. In the Jewish sector, 'Israel' was the symbol of continuity of the old prophetic traditions of a people under the protection of God in their dispersion among unfriendly nations. Ioudaios, the appellation given to them by neighbors and the imperial administration, had lost some of the implication of contempt it had received from the victorious Roman Emperors on the one hand, and the early Apostolic and Christian Fathers on the other hand. It regained a measure of respect in the eyes of some of the Pagan polemicists, who made the Jews their allies in their struggle to resist the Christian take-over of the state. As to the appellation, Hebraios, the official Jewish Establishment had no part of it, although Hellenistic Jews may have used it (among them Josephus, the Jew turned Roman protégé). In the Christian sector, the trend that was started in the first century (and earlier) by Jewish Hellenistic writers to romanticize the appellation of the Jewish ancestor 'Hebraios' was continued forcefully by Paul, and consequently, it gained an honorable status in the young Church. A further step led the spiritual leaders of the Christians to identify the Jews who turned their backs on traditional Judaism as "the Hebrews." As the Church

solidified its position and was out in strong force to convert the Jews, the argument that the Church is the continuator of the Prophetic 'Israel' was set forward by the Christian polemicists, who juxtaposed it affectionately to the scornful appellation Ioudaios which derided those blind people who refuse to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah and are guilty of crimes against His disciples and the followers of the new religion.

Late in the third century the pagan writers have discovered the values of the Jewish teachings, and held the Jews in higher esteem than the Christians, whose aggressive tactics and efforts to revolutionize the moral foundation of the Empire they resented. They were therefore appreciative both of the appellation Ioudaios and their ancient ancestors' name Hebraios.

The adoption of Christianity by Constantine in 312, radically changed the whole situation in the three sectors. The pagans, having capitulated their power to the Church, lost their importance as a factor maintaining the equilibrium between the three faiths. The Church, victorious against the powerful state, was now to adopt new steps against the Jews. Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea who was released from jail with the end of the persecutions, was the formulator of a new approach to the Jews, based on a historical appraisal of their past and their destiny as a condemned and vanquished nation. His impact on the status of the Jews in the post-Nicene period was decisive and fateful.

EXCURSUS I

The Hellenists and Hebrews in Acts 6:1-6.

Modern historians generally follow the dictionaries' definition, of "Hellenist" and interpret the events described in the five verses of Acts 6, as a conflict between Greek-speaking Jews and their Hebrew-speaking counterparts. The conflict is thus assumed to have occurred between the two groups within the House of Israel, both of whom had embraced the new Faith; the frictions having resulted only out of the difference in their respective mentalities, the external appearance of which was their linguistic usage: Hebrew-Aramaic or Greek.¹ Such an appraisal is, to say the least, very weakly supported by the Midrashic and Talmudic literature. Prof. Peters notes rightly that Jerusalem

a) Joseph Klausner, Historia, op. cit. Vol. V., p. 94, identifies them as Greek Jews and "Hebrews - namely: the Jews of Eretz Israel."

b) F. E. Peters, The Harvest of Hellenism, op. cit., pp. 487-8: "... Hellenized Jews from Egypt, Syria and farther afield. Converts have been made from this group too...."; After the conflict is solved, Professor Peters says that the administration was given to the Hellenists "while they [the Hebrews] the Aramaic Christians devoted themselves to the spiritual side of the ministry."

c) F. J. Foakes-Jackson, The History of the Christian Church from the Earliest Times to A.D. 461, London, 1891-1965, Chapter 3, p. 33. The Church of "the Hebrew-speaking Jews" is said to be confronted by "the Hellenistic Jews who believed," who were "Greek-speaking Jews."

d) The New English Bible with the Apocrypha, Oxford, 1970, Acts 6:1: "... there was disagreement between those of them the disciples who spoke Greek and those who spoke the language of the Jews."

e) In contradistinction: Phillips, The N.T. in Modern English op. cit., p. 246: "... the Greeks complained that in the daily distribution of food the Hebrew widows were given preferential treatment."

"was filled with transient and permanent residents from the diaspora"² and, indeed, they had their own synagogues. The Talmud, however, records only the harmonious feelings towards all pilgrims,³ and no source indicates frictions between Palestinian Jews and arrivals from the Diaspora. What, then, was the cause of the sudden sharp differentiation between the allegedly Greek-speaking and Hebrew (or Aramaic)-speaking elements of a same community bound by a common devotion to a new Faith and possessed by high ideals of a coming Kingdom of Heaven? Was the cause really the cultural language factor

In the first place, no one can ignore the fact that the two forms of the substantives, Hebrews and Hellenists are definitely distinctive. We are not told that the confrontation was between "Hebraistēs and Hellenistēs from which we could deduce, that these forms are related to the languages "Hebraisti" and "Hellenisti" respectively.⁴ Hebraios is used in a meaning of Ethnic belonging just as it is used in the Septuagint, and later by Josephus. What can be said of Hellenistēs?

In fairness to the historians and Bible translators it should be said that while they see the events as the

²

The Harvest, op. cit., p. 487.

³

The Passage in Aboth 5:5 : "And never a man complained to his fellow friend that it was too crowded to lodge in Jerusalem," points to the prevailing spirit of welcome of pilgrims and outsiders by the residents of the city.

⁴

See Chapt. Six p.129 infra.

first clash between the Judaizing elements of the Jerusalem Church and their opponents - those tending to Hellenism, we are looking into the problem from another angle, viz., the appellation of the Jews in the first century, as manifested in the sources we have examined in the previous chapters. The question is: having examined the usages made in the literature of the first century of the term "Hebraios" in its Greek form, is it correct to say, that its usage in Acts 6:1, is not made in an ethnic meaning, as that given to it by Josephus - "γένει'Εβραῖος," ("of Hebrew descent")?⁵ And in any case, are not Greek-speaking Jews also of "Hebrew" descent? How then is it possible that the author of Acts designated two groups both of "Hebrew" descent, by two different appellations, one Hebraici and the other Hellenistes? Having posed the problem we shall proceed to the analysis.

Comparison of texts

The English Hexapla⁶ which contains six texts of N.T. namely: Wycliff 1380, Tyndalā 1534, Granmer 1539, Geneva 1557, Rheims 1582, all translate the Greek text: "ἔγενετο γογγυσμός τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους" by the words "... Greeks against Hebrews." The Authorized

⁵ The War, Book I (1)3.

⁶ The English Hexapla. Six Important English Translations of the N.T. Scripture, London, 1841.

Version of 1611 is the first to translate: "Grecians against Hebrews." The R. S. V. (Revised Standard Version) returned to the Greek term, using: "Hellenists against Hebrews." The latter rendering was explained in a footnote saying:

Hellenists: Greek-speaking Jews of the Dispersion, who had their synagogues, in Jerusalem and read the Scriptures in Greek.

The Hexaglot Bible which has Greek, Syriac and Vulgate texts, as well as the A.V., and German and French, has for the Syriac text: "... רטנו הוּוּ יוֹנִיאַ תְּלִמִּידָא עַל עִבְרִיָא. " (the Greek disciples were murmuring against the Hebrew disciples); the Vulgate text has: "factum est murmur Graecorum adversus Hebraeos"; the German: "erhob sich ein Murmeln inter der Griechen wider der Ebraer"; the French: "il s'eleva contre les Hebreux de la part des Grecs"...⁸

From the comparison of the above texts it is evident that only the A.V. of 1611 put an end to the traditional rendering of Hellenistes by "Greek," and introduced an English term "Grecian", which implied a difference of

⁷ R. S. V., Appendix 1, p. 240. The author of the note not only introduces the notion of "Greek-Speaking Jews" but even knows that they were reading in Jerusalem the Scriptures in Greek! (sic). Compare the struggle on this subject within the Jewish Synagogues in Justinians' time which resulted in his stern legislation in Novellae 146, in the year 553, regulating and permitting for the first time the reading of the Scriptures in Greek, in lieu of the hitherto customary reading of Hebrew text with Targum and translation in the language of the land a fact noted by Juster. See his, Les Juifs, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 369-372.

⁸ The Hexaglot Bible, Funk and Wagnalls, N.Y. 1906.

nuances between Ἕλληγ and Ἑλληνιστής. Later, the R. S. V. went a step further; by re-introducing the original term "The Hellenists" with its footnote on the Greek-speaking Jews, created the meaning which is currently accepted by most dictionaries, Bibles, and Church and History books.

This meaning, no doubt, has its merits in explaining a difficult problem for Church authorities concerning the identity of the "Hellenists." The commentator of the Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible⁹ in analyzing his interpretation as "Greek-speaking Jews" lists six reasons why the contrary opinion, i.e., "the theory that the term means Greeks is improbable." His mere resorting to the debate with the opposite opinion, points to the strange fact that the translation of "Hellenistēs" as "Greek-speaking" is not attested by literary sources of Antiquity, or corroborated by other evidence. It is a purely inferential term of convenience, which because of the strong authority of the Church has gained general acceptance, and was, as such, introduced in dictionaries.

Both Liddel and Scott and Webster indicate two different meanings.¹⁰ Our question is why for Acts 6:1,

⁹ Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Abingdon Press, New York. Entry: Hellenists by F. C. Grant.

¹⁰ Liddel and Scott, For Ἕλληγ: "Gentiles whether heathen or Christians; pagans." But for Ἑλληνιστής: "One who uses the Greek language: a Greek Jew (Act Ap. 6:1)." However, they also give another rendering: "II. Gentile, Heathen. Jul. Ep. 84a." Webster's Dictionary also has two renderings: "1) A person living in Hellenistic times, not Greek in ancestry but Greek in language, outlook and way of life. 2) A Hellenized Jew." He then quotes as support Acts 6:1 of R. S. V.

"Greek-speaking Jews" is more fitting than "Gentile," or, "A person not Greek in ancestry but Greek in language, outlook and way of life?" Could not the Hellenistes of Acts 6:1 be persons of the latter definition? Hastings¹¹ in analyzing the state of Greek culture in Palestine in Jesus' time, and in particular its impact on Jesus, his disciples and his followers from the Hellenized cities of the Decapolis and Perea, says:

The N.T. itself bears witness to the strength of the Greek element in the very cradle of the new religion Philip came from Bethsaida Julius a Grecized town; whence also came another Apostle with a Greek name Andrew.... We hear of believing Greeks (not Greek Jews)¹² in the entourage of Jesus (John 12:21) How strong was the Hellenistic party in the Church from the first, is clear from the fact that it was their grievances which led to the appointment of the seven, all of whom bore Greek names, which one at least was a proselyte of Antioch (Acts 6:5)."

Is it then beyond reasonable assumption that among those who joined the commune of the Christians in Jerusalem, were Gentiles from Bethsaida, and other cities of the Decapolis, who followed Jesus in his march from Galilee to Jerusalem, and stayed there? Is not one of the probable reasons of their joining the commune precisely their migration from Gallilee, Perea, or the Decapolis cities to Jerusalem? That gentiles (Hellenes) were part and parcel of the ecclesia.

¹¹

A Dictionary of the Bible edited by James Hastings, Scribner, 1923. Vol. 2 p. 262, entries? Greece, Hellenism.

¹²

Underlining mine. Why should it be taken for granted that Philip was of Jewish ancestry, and not a Greek from the Decapolis?

of the Christians in Jerusalem is proven from the incident of Paul in the Temple Court, described in Acts 21:28-29, in which he is accused of bringing Greeks¹³ (non-Jews) into the Temple.

The opponents of this opinion will no doubt point to the other passage in Acts 9:29, which deals also with "the Hellenists": "And he spoke and disputed with the Hellenists; but they were seeking to kill him Paul ." It is interesting to note, that the Syriac text has in this case:

וְדָרַשׁ הָיָא עִם יְהוּדָיָא, אֲלִין דִּידְעִין
הוּא יוֹנָאִית. הוּנֹז דִּין צָבִין הוּא לְמַקְטֵלָה...

which means, "... and he was ar-

guing with the Jews those who knew (understood) the Greek language." Some scholars¹⁴ point out, that Acts is composed of various elements, some sections "appearing to depend on traditions deriving from Jerusalem," while others "rest in the main, on the personal reminiscences of a companion of Paul." The different interpretation by the Syriac text of the term Hellenists, can plausibly be due to the two different sources.

It remains now to examine the validity of the Syriac references, in both cases. Albright debates the question

¹³

Hastings notes that in the N.T. Greek-Ἑλλην(ας) may denote persons of Greek descent in the narrowest sense, Acts 16:1, 18:4, Rom. 1:14, or may be a general designation for all who are not of Jewish extraction (John 12:20, Rom. 1:16, 10:12, Gal. 3:28).

¹⁴

Cambridge Ancient History. N.Y. MacMillan, 1936. Vol. 11, Chapter 7, p. 258; written by B. H. Streeter.

of the original languages of the Gospels,¹⁵ and Torrey's theories that all were written before A.D. 70 in Aramaic. Even if we disagree on this point, we cannot disregard Albright's appraisal

that Torrey has demonstrated the existence of a much more important and much more far reaching Aramaic substratum of our Greek Gospels, than had been believed previously by any first-class scholar.¹⁶

What about the Acts? According to the writer in Cambridge Ancient History, "The Gospel of Luke and Acts constitute a single work (an apology of Christianity) in two volumes - written for the educated public."¹⁷ The Syriac texts with their two varied formulas may be a trustworthy representation of the situation in Acts 6:1; it is a conflict between two groups of different ancestry: Greeks - Gentiles¹⁸ and Hebrews.

Stronger support to this thesis comes from literary sources which were not cited by Liddel and Scott. The first comes from St. Basil who wrote in the middle of the

¹⁵ W. F. Albright. From Stone Age to Christianity. Doubleday, N.Y., 1957. p. 380.

¹⁶ Op. cit., p. 385.

¹⁷ Cambridge Ancient History, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 288.

¹⁸ Hastings points to the LXX translation of דְּנִיין in Joel 3:6 as Ελληνων, which in conjunction with note 13 above makes the usage of Hellenistes equal to Greeks, not by ancestry, but by way of life. See Note 10 above, Webster, (1).

fourth century, and was closer to the events and the texts, than were the editors of the S. R. V. In his treatise The Morals¹⁹ he quotes the text of Acts 6:1-3 in these terms: "... a murmuring of the Greeks against the Hebrews". He then follows with the moral (which is not of our concern here).

Another firm and explicit support comes from a writer of the fourth century, who can be well trusted to have known the meaning of and have made good usage of the word Hellenistēs in a true context; he is Julian the Apostate.

In a letter addressed to the pontif of Galatia he praises the Jews for taking care of their poor and notes, that in their communities not a single beggar or vagabond can be found and even the Christians care for their poor. He urges therefore the pontif to organize similar social assistance among the pagan population. How does Julian designate them in 352 A.D.?

... Διδασκει δὲ καὶ σύνεσφerein τοὺς Ἑλλήνιστάς
εἰς τοιοῦτας λειτουργίας καὶ τὰς ἑλληνικάς
χόμας ἀπαρχεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν καρπῶν...

and the Latin text:

Quare doceto gentiles in eius modi ministeria
pecunian conferre et pagos gentilium ex fructibus
diis offerre primitias²⁰
(Letter 48)

¹⁹

F.O.T.C. Op. Cit., Vol. 9.

²⁰

See Epistolograph Graeci, op. cit., Note 84, Chapter 5, *infra*.

The evidence is overwhelming. The editors of the A.V. and R. S. V. resorted to a change from "Greek" to another designation on inferential grounds - disregarding the understanding of St. Basil and Julian of this term in their generation.

Among the modern writers who admit that the designation of Hellenistes as "Greek-speaking Jew" is not that simplistic is Jean Danielou.²¹ He avoids speaking of the Hellenists as a linguistic group, but rather as one of the many sects flourishing in Judaism in the early Christian period in Jerusalem: Pharisees, Saducees, Essenes, Herodians, Zealots, Genists, Merists, Galileans, Hellanians, Baptists.²² Discussing the point of view of other writers, among them those who maintain that Hellenists are "the Greek-speaking Jews", Danielou concludes:

In reality, the group seems to have been composite ... its members were partly Palestinian Jews ... They were hellenized ... some could come from the Diaspora ... then there were also proselytes, that is to say, pagans converted to Judaism, like those in Acts 2:11, and Nicholas, a proselyte of Antioch, expressly mentioned as a Hellenist (Acts 6:5).²³

Danielou says: "It must be admitted that these Hellenists are difficult to identify."²⁴ His suggestion that the group was of a composite nature is most suitable to represent the membership of the ecclessia in Jerusalem in the embryonic stage.

²¹

The Christian Centuries, op. cit., p. 11

²²

Ibid., p. 17.

²³

Ibid., p. 12

²⁴

Ibid. p. 11 (bt)

The term "Hellenist" should then be seen in its two planes: the cultural, namely those representing Hellenism, versus Pharisaic Judaism, and the ethnic, namely Greeks-Gentiles versus ethnic Jews - called now "Hebrews."

In the Gentile group not all were widowers or widows. As it happened, those who felt discriminated were against the few widows in the Gentile sector of the members of the commune. Their ethnic protectors, the male Gentiles, asked for redress. It was agreed to act, and the committee of seven was set up.

The Gentiles were not ethnic Greeks. Here it is convenient to use Webster's classification (1): "a person ...".²⁵ These might have been Syrians or other Jewish proselytes, or semi-proselytes, sebemenoi, all now turned Christian. They were now co-partners of the ethnic Jews designated by the author of Acts as "Hebrews." The presumption, that the non-Jewish ethnic component were all former proselytes to Judaism is a necessary condition for the coherence of the dispute.

As pointed out by Streeter,²⁶ the grievance of the Hellenists was on the grounds of food distribution, and this could not come about, had they been unable to share in the common meals at the tables of the Christian commune. It is well known that the principle of not permitting common

²⁵ See note 10 above "a person living in Hellenistic times, not Greek in ancestry, but Greek in language, outlook and way of life.

²⁶ See note 14.

meals with non-Jews was very strictly adhered to in the Church of Jerusalem in that period. The Hellenists could have been therefore non-ethnic Greeks, i.e. - Gentiles, converted to Judaism, who have now made the step to accept the principles of the new Jewish sect -- those believing in the Messiahship of Jesus. The Acts and Epistles of Paul indicate clearly that such converts were the easiest human element to handle in their missionary activity in Asia and Greece. The converts from the Jewish ranks were termed ethnically "Hebrews" because of their ancestry (γένος) and not because they spoke "Hebrew." Those among the Syrians ("Aramai" in Syriac) and "Neo-Greeks," or, as they were designated commonly, Hellen, or Hellenistēs, as the case may be, were called by the author of Acts: Hellenistēs."

The origin of the Church's designation of the Jews as "Hebrews" lies in the inter-ethnic conflict which occurred in Jerusalem in the thirties of the first Christian century, and is described in Acts 6:1-6. It was a technical term resorted to out of necessity to deal with an unprecedented situation. Later, it gradually acquired new meanings, as a function of the user's intent.

As more Jews stepped over to the Christian side, the term Hebraios, had to be used more often by the Church staff. It gained in vitality, and was absorbed in all circles of society, even among Pagans.²⁷ When Josephus declared

²⁷

As attested by Plutarch, and other writers of the period.

in his proem to the Wars that he was of "γένει Ἑβραῖος" (of Hebrew ancestry)²⁸ he was not speaking in a vacuum. The term had already gained a degree of popularity.

Eusebius, 300 years later imprinted on it a new meaning: the "good" Hebraios against the "bad" Ioudaios.

²⁸

See note 5 above.

THE APPELLATIONS OF THE JEWS (IOUDAIOS, HEBRAIOS,
ISRAEL) IN THE LITERATURE FROM
ALEXANDER TO JUSTINIAN

VOLUME TWO

From Constantine to Justinian
(312 A.D.-567)

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CHAPTER FIVE

FROM CONSTANTINE TO JUSTINIAN (312-567 A.D.)

Introductory Note

Constantine's acceptance of Christianity was a decisive event in the history of the Empire and of the Jewish nation in Palestine and the Dispersion. The history of Christianity had now entered quite a new phase, for the Church had truly found peace. All the barriers, legal or material, which formerly prevented the spread of the new religion were lifted; henceforth she could make free and steadily more effective progress. In the period we are investigating, conversions multiply in all parts of the Roman Empire, teaching the masses and circles formerly hostile; everywhere new episcopal sees are founded; there is intense theological activity. From Britain, Gaul, Africa and most eastern corners of the Roman Empire come the names of the chief figures of the Church, preaching, evangelizing, debating and writing on the principles of the Faith. The imperial policy, which in so many ways tends to favor the new religion, results in an intense activity of the Church leaders to hasten the conversion of the unbelievers and make Christianity the catholic (universal) religion. The steady progress towards achieving this goal was stopped only for a short duration during the reign of Julian the Apostate, 361-363. This effort to restore the

cult of "the gods" in the Empire and to revive the activity of the pagan temples and sacrifices failed decisively. Polytheism was a dying concept, and there was no enthusiasm among the masses to follow the revived doctrines of Julian, even in their new philosophical garb.

The Church, which had been organized into local episcopal sees, was organizing on a global scale, and held synods and councils in which hundreds of bishops, the imperial dignitaries, and the emperors themselves took part. Their decisions were fateful for the religious life of the various peoples of the empire. Some of the decisions were subsequently enacted as civil law, embodied in the Codexes and implemented under the watchful eye of the authorities who worked generally harmoniously, the state and the Church.

The debacle of the pagan cult and institutions acted on the Jewish people in the empire as if one of the three pillars supporting a triangular roof structure would have suddenly failed in its capacity of load-bearing and maintaining the equilibrium and stability of the roof. In the pre-Constantine era, the Jews were not the only "enemy" of the Church. The polemics with the pagans, and the adherence of the masses and the ruling class to a non-Christian religion took off some pressure from the Jew to convert and fall in line with the evangelistic preachings. Under the new circumstances, an isolated Jewish people was to become the subject of the exclusive and scrupulous attention of the Church lead-

ers, with the purpose of exposing the Jewish "false way" in rejecting the victorious state religion. The triangle of cult equilibrium, composed of the three acting forces in the empire: Judaism, Christianity and Paganism, disappeared and in its place, a confrontation of the two directly opposed forces, Christianity versus Judaism, appeared on the scene. The force of Christianity was now of unprecedented magnitude, having on its side the masses, the state, wealth and a steadily growing organization. The force opposing it, the Jews, was small in number, dispersed, under attack by the Church, both in daily life and in Church propaganda, for more than two hundred years, and in their past homeland--in Palestine--a tolerated minority in a process of decrease, disintegration and extinction. The Palestinian Talmud was in its closing period.¹ The academies of Caesarea, Tiberias and Sepphoris were closed. In 424 the Patriarchate came to an end, an institution which existed approximately three hundred and forty years,² and was respected both by Jews and the imperial authority as the exterritorial government of the "Jewish nation" (ethnos tōn Ioudaion) in the whole Oikoumene.

¹Generally assumed to be the year 420 A.D. See Herman L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, New York, 1972, p. 131.

²Inaugurated in the era of R. Gamaliel II at the turn of the first century. See Allon, Toledot, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 126; had attained a respectful status in the person of R. Judah ha-Nassi, at the turn of the second century, and took a turn towards decline in the fourth century. Its extinction came with the last of the Hillelite line, Gamaliel VI. (See Strack, op. cit., p. 131.)

The two forces opposing each other had diametrically opposed aims. The Church force aimed at crushing its adversary by making the life of the Jews difficult, to the extent of impossibility, through inculcating in the minds of the latter's neighbors an idea that the Jews, in contradistinction to the pagans, bear on their shoulders a burden of guilt, and their hearts are full of inimical designs towards the true believers in Christ. One of the effects of the diffusion of this idea was the appending of the specific meanings to the three appellations by which the Jews on the one hand, and Christ and his Apostles on the other hand were known.

The Shaping of the Appellations Meanings

While we have to touch on the background and causes for the acquisition of these meanings, they are outside the scope of our study. Their effects lie, however, in the area of our interest. For never in the 900-years-period between Alexander and Justinian have writers, apologists, or orators, contributed on such a scale to the shaping of the definite meanings of the three appellations, as did the Church Fathers of the fourth and fifth century. In the course of the propagation of their ideas on the ongoing conflict between Judaism and the Church, they were using the appellations Hebraios, Israel and Ioudaios in a very selective way. By so doing, they contributed both directly and indirectly to the ultimate shaping of the meanings of these appellations. The contem-

porary Ioudaios was a living human being, a fellow man of the Christians, and at the same time, their opponent, the antagonist of the Church. The way in which the Church Fathers spoke of him, the image in which they shaped him, the qualities they attributed to his human and moral character, automatically turned his appellations into well defined concepts. Thus, Ioudaios acquired a meaning absolutely distinct from the two others, Hebraios and "Israel", known from the Old Testament. This was due, mainly, to the scale of values the Church Fathers used in accordance with their doctrine on the role played by "Israel", the ancient Hebrews and the Ioudaioi--both those of the pre-Christian era and the contemporary Jews--in the advent of Christ, and the advancement of Christianity.

In the preceding chapters we have shown how the three appellations were undergoing frequent reappraisals in various periods and sectors.³ The same phenomenon is true for the period between Constantine and Justinian, and even on a larger scale. Little literary evidence is available on the usage of the appellations in the pagan sector, except for Julian the Apostate's writings, which we examine elsewhere. The reason is clear; paganism was then breathing its last days. In contradistinction, the two other sectors produced great literatures: the Jews--the Talmud and Midrashim, the Church Fathers--an abundance of writings in all genres: treatises, homilies, instructives, etc. It is these two areas that we propose to examine by the same methods we applied to earlier literatures, with a

³ See Summary Volume I, p. 161 ff.

view to detecting the contribution of these new sources to the usage and meanings attributed to the three appellations by their contemporaries.

As said earlier, the Church was now secure and self-confident, and with its full authority engaged in a campaign to enhance its status. Its goal was clear: to become the only universal (Catholic) religion. The elimination of paganism was only a matter of a short time. In contradistinction, the Ioudaioi still offered stiff resistance to voluntary conversion. The Church Fathers became wary of this situation. The earlier measures in the battle against Judaism, dialogue, polemics, etc., were now considered both insufficient and inefficient. Despite the destitute status of the Jewish communities, we still find Christians attracted to Jewish customs and fascinated with the rituals of the Synagogue. Some are even visiting the Synagogues on the Sabbath. In short, they are Judaizers (Ioudaisantes). Combatting the Ioudaioi was therefore a necessity; not only was it important to point out their "false way" as opposed to the "True Way", but also to present the Jews in a strongly negative light, so as to make them repulsive and abhorrent to the Christian masses, so that communication with Jews and the Synagogues would cease.

It is in this context that usage of the appellations by the Church Fathers should be seen. Bitter attacks on the Jews and expressions of hatred were the tools of shaping the repulsive image of the Jews. Our study cannot be complete if we shall not take into account that the deterioration of the

status of the appellation Ioudaios, from respectability to utter contempt is a product of this image-shaping of the Jews in the Literature of the Church. It is impossible to separate the name from the man. Just as in modern times "Tzigan" (Gypsy) and "Nigger" (Negro) express contempt both for the individual and the group he is a member of, so the Jew and his appellation "Ioudaios" were the object of a campaign of degradation, by over-zealous Church Fathers. By identifying the Ioudaioi with Satan, criminals, brigands,⁴ and presenting the Synagogue as "a house of prostitution", they achieved their goal of making them repulsive and abhorrent to the Christian. The appellation Ioudaios became synonymous with perfidy, corruptiveness, and other evils. Some Fathers compared the Ioudaioi to wild beasts.⁵ Jerome went even a step further. He advocated to see in the appellation Iudaeus the incorporation of the features of Judas, one of the Twelve, Jesus' betrayer.⁶ His guilt towards Jesus, was transferred on all living generation's bearing the common appellation Judaeus, attributing to it the contemptfull qualities of perfidy, falsehood and betrayal. At the beginning of the fifth century, the appellation Ioudaios, lost its respect, and expressed only shame

⁴ See Chrisostom's speech against the Judaizers of Antioch pp. 34-35 infra.

⁵ See Gregory of Nyssa, p. 38 infra. Leo the Great, p. 61 infra.

⁶ See Jerome, p. 56 infra.

and insult.⁷

The other two appellations were appraised by the Church Fathers in the light of their value and service to the Church, and in accordance with its doctrine enunciated by Eusebius in his treatise Preparatio Evangelica. (See pp. 15, 16 *infra*). According to it, the whole historical function of the Hebrews since Abraham and the prophets of the "Hebrews", was to prepare the Jewish nation for the Gospel, and the acceptance of Christ. It ensues therefore that the appellations Israel, Israelites, and Hebraios were cherished by the Church and they enjoyed a status of honor and high respect. This approach finds its clear expression in the Church literature. Hence the dualistic usage by most of the towering figures of the Church. While Jerome uses Ioudaeus in negative light, he switches to the usage of "Hebrews" as the designation of his contemporary Jews in Palestine, when describing their praiseworthy customs of mutual care, integrity and charity, which--he says--should serve as a model to "us" Christians.⁸

⁷ Among the authors who note this situation is Juster, who comments: "...the appellation [Ioudaios] acquired its pronounced injurious meaning only at the beginning of the fifth century. "Il avait déjà, avant, une petite teinte froissante, acquise sous l'influence des Pères de l'Eglise, qui comparaient, ou plutôt assimilaient les Juifs, d'abord allegoriquement, puis dans un but insultant, aux différentes bêtes de la création (de preference aux viperes et surtout auxchiens) Les Juifs, Vol.I p. 174 Note 1, bottom).

⁸ See Against Vigilantius, p. 60 *infra*.

The passages from the Church Fathers' writings quoted in this dissertation do not purport to be the most complete or the best. Although our subject is the "Appellations of the Jews", it is impossible not to make usage of passages in which Ioudaios is quoted in contexts evoking ill-feeling, hatred or insult to Jews. These passages are part of the preachings which shaped the meaning of one of the appellations of the Jews--may be the most important one--that of the living Ioudaios. The other two have been quoted, when they point to their place in the Church's doctrines, and to the debates with the Rabbis on the question who was the "true Israel". There was no conflict between them as to the appellation Hebraios. The Church Fathers could enjoy the satisfaction of unchallenged full rights to this appellation. As we shall show in our analysis of the Talmud and Midrash, the Rabbis ignored this appellation in all generations.⁹

We shall now proceed to the analysis of the Church Fathers' writings. The English translation of the works of the Fathers in the period of our investigation is collected in a "Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene

⁹ See The Talmud p. 71 *infra*, and General Summary p. 143.

Fathers of the Christian Church"¹⁰ (hereinafter designated as NPNF). According to their literary genre, these works can be classified as follows:

- 1) Church History
- 2) Orations, Discourses
- 3) Special Treatises on philosophical and theological subjects
- 4) Sermons and Homilies on the Old and New Testaments
- 5) Letters to Church Dignitaries and others
- 6) Panegyrics

The analysis of the twenty-eight volumes composing this library will be confined to the usage by the various Church Fathers of the appellations of the Jews--contemporary and ancient--and to its bearing

- A) on their flock with the view of inculcating in their minds the "true image" of the Jew as seen through the passages quoted from Sacred Literature (O.T. and N.T.) properly interpreted,

¹⁰ For particulars see Vol. I, Introduction p. 31.

- B) on the shaping of the meanings of the three appellations, and on their positive and negative aspects.

What Is in a Name?

This question was posed by Shakespeare in the sixteenth century.¹¹ In Biblical, New Testament and other literature, names are sometimes more than a rudimentary means of identification. The conspicuous significance of the name's inner content is well emphasized by the many instances of changes of names recorded in ancient literature. Generally, such a change was made in order to indicate a breakaway from a concept of the past, and to give the same person or group a new image, a new designation in the ears and eyes of men and peoples. The change from Abram to Abraham, from Sarai to Sarah, from Jacob to Israel--and also the abandonment of 'Ibri עִבְרִי by Moses and his successors, and the introduction of Israel and Benei-Israel as new usage--are of this nature. In the critical period of the promotion of the Gos-

¹¹ Romeo and Juliet, Act 2.

pel, the two pillars of the Church, Peter and Paul, had their names changed to mark a break with the past and the acquisition of a new image. Simon became Petrus, and Saul became Paulus. There is, however, in the literature of the fourth century A.D. a different example of changing an appellation: the type of change made by Julian the Apostate. The work Against the Galileans¹² is a critical work against the Christians, but while in the course of argument, the Jews are referred to by both Ioudaioi and Hebraioi, their dual appellation, Julian decidedly avoids calling the Christians by their real name in life, literature and state legislation, and instead calls them Galilaioi, an appellation never used before, and intended to degrade the current appellation "Christian."

One of the greatest Church Fathers of the fourth century was conspicuously aware of the significance of appellations. Gregory of Nyssa (331-336), who is held to be the only genuine philosopher among the Greeks, both by training and temperament,¹³ said the following on change of appellations:

¹² One of his main works, Against the Christians, is entitled in Greek Kata Galileon, written in 363. We have used the French translation by Eugene Tabot, Oeuvres Completes de l'Empereur Julien, Paris, 1863. The editor stresses the fact that not a single time does Julian call them by their real name "Christians" (Introduction, p. 13).

¹³ Opinion of Jaen Danielou, in his book, Jean Danielou and H. Marraix, The Christian Centuries, Vol. One: The First Six Hundred Years, p. 305. "Greeks" denotes the Greek-writing Fathers, as opposed to the Latin-writing who were called Latins.

For if you make change of names a sign of things having been named by men, you will thereby surely allow that every name has been imposed upon things by us, since the same appellations of objects have not obtained universally. For as in the case of Paul, who was once Saul, and of Peter who was formerly Simon, to earth and sky and air and sea and all the parts of the creation have not been named alike by all, but are named in one way by the Hebrews, and in another way by us, and are denoted by every nation by different names.

(NPNF, 2nd Series, Vol. V, p. 197)

The very usage in the above statement of the appellation "Hebrews" and not "Jews" ("Ioudaios"), is significant not only for Gregory but for the whole gamut of Church Fathers whose works we shall analyze; it is this type of problem we are facing in our examination: What is in the name Ioudaios? What is in the name Hebraios? To what extent do they use these appellations, and what do they express or intend to express?

We have already dwelt in Chapter Three on the difficulties which the ancient Greco-Roman writers had in comprehending the Jews and Judaism. They sought to explain the nature of their resistance to pressures of foreign cults and cultures.¹⁴ For the Church Fathers in the fourth and fifth centuries, the problem was posed in a different way: Knowing the nature of the "Rock of Israel," what are the means and ways to adopt in order to penetrate its fabric and crush it, applying all possible pressures, psychological (church propaganda), theological (polemical debates), physical (regulatory legislation and communal daily life). It was clear to them that their aim

¹⁴

See Periodic Summary, Vol. I, Chap. Three, p. 161.

could not be achieved by peaceful, quiet debate, after 210 years of writing; "Against the Jews," "Dialogues," polemics and other methods did not do the job. An intensification of the propaganda was necessary. A complete negation of the contemporary Jew (Ioudaios) and what he stood for, was to be introduced, while forming at the same time a very positive image of the forerunners of the present-day Jews, the ancient Hebrews (Hebraioi).

The time was over when the Church saw itself as an "offspring" of Judaism. Christianity, in its newly recognized imperial legal status, saw itself no more as a "co-dweller" in the "House of Israel" with the Jews but as the master of that "House," having full legal title to its ownership. The old "dweller" of the house (before the advent of Christ), was to be chased out from it, albeit retaining his links to the ancient Hebrews; these links were no longer considered to be of an exclusive nature. The new owner of the House of Israel, the Christian Church, declared itself the sole inheritor of the rights and special privileges and promises accorded by God to Abraham and his seed. The Church thus took away from

¹⁵ Most of the Ante-Nicene and some of the Post-Nicene Fathers wrote treatises entitled "Against the Jews" (*Adversus Iudaeos*). Outstanding among them were: Tertullian, St. Hippolytus, St. Cyprian, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine. In the Dialogue genre, Justine's Dialogue with the Jew Trypho was to become the typical classical form of debating Jews, and a thesaurus of Scripture passages proving Christianity's True Way and the false interpretations of the Jews.

¹⁶ The theological concept of these rights was formulated later by St. Augustine as the dual promise of God to

the Jews all their claims to special status with the God of their ancestors. Just as their national homeland was destroyed in 70 A.D. and the name Judaea disappeared from the political map, their status with God was annulled by the Church; she claimed now to be the legal and spiritual continuator of the religion of Abraham, while the Jews were the defectors from the "True Way"--in fact, a breakaway branch of the tree of Israel--and were to be treated as one of the various groups of unbelievers or heretical sects. The Old Testament was now to become the legal document attesting the Church's right to take over rights and privileges emanating from God's promises to the Hebrews, through the Patriarchs and the Prophets. What about the Jewish claims? The Church had an answer: their claims have no moral nor legal merit. The Law was of a transitory nature, preparatory in character,¹⁷ and terminated in Christ; the advent of Christ was foretold in the Law and the Prophets; God's promise to Abraham was bi-partite: one to the Jews and the other to the seed of all nations; it is the stubbornness of the Jews which caused their defection from the "True Way," which resulted in committing unforgivable crimes against the Savior and the

Abraham: first to his own seed, second, to all the (gentile) nations on the earth, and was based on Gen.22:17-18. The Jews having sinned and been rejected by God, the other titular--the Gentile Christian Church--became the sole legal proprietor of the Old Testament legacy and inheritance. See quotations from The City of God, infra, p. 48.

¹⁷ A doctrine established by Eusebius in Preparatio Evangelica.

Apostles. Maintaining such a theory in the face of the masses of Christian believers on the one hand, and of the Jews on the other, no doubt caused a polarization in daily life. We are not here to discuss the effects of this polarization on the life of the Jews. Nor are we to pass judgment on the positions taken by the Church theologians, or on the worthiness of their accusations against the Jews. Our task is only to point out the historical process of the demeaning of the appellation Ioudaios to such an extent, that when used by a Christian it would mean an insult, and because of which a Jew was faced with the dilemma of how to avoid unnecessary exposure to being called a "Jew."

That such a situation sometimes actually existed is attested by a tale about two women related in Midrash Lamentation Rabbati. The date of compilation of this Midrash is given by most scholars as not later than the fourth century C.E.¹⁸ Although such a situation might have existed already in the post-Hadrianic era, we are interested in the very fact that the appellation "Jewess" was an unbearable insult. The story is a comment on Lam.5:11-12: "See O Lord, and behold how abject I am become":

R. Pinchas said: It happened that two harlots of Ashkelon were quarreling. In the course of the quarrel, one said to the other: You should not go out from this place, because you look like a Jewess. After some time they became reconciled. Said one: I forgive you every-

¹⁸Strack, Intr. to Talmud, op. cit., p. 219.

thing you said, except the remark that I look like a Jewess.¹⁹

The Jewish homilist, in choosing for his moral two persons from the lowest class of society, points to a situation in which the persecution of Jews, and the necessity of concealing the Jewish identity, was the common lot of all classes. The term "Jew" became a term of opprobrium.

The Church Fathers' Distinction between the
Appellations Ioudaios and Hebraios

The usage of the appellations by the various writers of the fourth and fifth centuries is diversified and ununiform. Depending on their views and temperaments, the Church Fathers express their appreciation of the "Jews" or "Hebrews" in moderate or abusive terms. There are, however, a few general theses that can be formulated with regard to their usage of the three appellations of the Jews:

T(1). Israel is the spiritual name of the ancient people through whose prophets God has revealed the coming of Christ. The followers of Christ are the continuators of the traditions and religion of Israel.

T(2). "Hebrews" is the genealogical name of the ancestors of the Jews who lived in the Biblical Period; the appellation is used in the writings of the Fathers (N P N F) only to explain (a) customs of the Jews in the Biblical period; (b) persons of important stature in Biblical

¹⁹English translation in Soncino Press edition, London, 1955, Lamentation Rabbati, #39-40.

literature of which the Church has a positive view; (c) Post-Biblical famous Jewish persons, appreciated by the Church; (d) when Hebraios is applied to contemporary Jews, it is done so only when speaking of their traditional Biblical customs, feasts, rites, observances, and comments on the Old Testament. This, if and when the particular subject spoken of, relative to the person or community--is expressed in a line approved, sympathetic to, or agreed to by the Church, or at least, is not in opposition to the Church's view.

T(3). Ioudaios is an appellation used to designate the contemporary Jew. The appellation has no national meaning. By definition of the Church, the nation of the Jews has ceased to exist because of God's punishment for their crimes against Christ and the Apostles. The "Remnant" of the Jewish nation who survive in the Oikoumene are a religious group who are preserved by Divine Will in order to testify to the nations of the world the veracity of the Gospels.²⁰ Being a religious group, the meaning of Ioudaios is an observer of the Old Testament. It is therefore an appellation of an adherent to a religion, and its parallels are Christians, Pagans, or sectarians: Manichaeans, Ebionites, Samaritans, Arians, Pelagians, etc. Since they are the most obstinate people refusing to embrace Christianity, and falsely interpreting the Old Testament's presages regarding the whole theological doctrine of the Church, they are under constant heavy accusa-

²⁰ A doctrine developed by St. Augustine. See Commentary on Ps. 58, I.22.

tion of the Church, as twisting the prophetic ideals. They are grouped together with the heretics and unbelievers, and their name symbolizes crime and falsity.

As a corollary, this appellation is extended to the forefathers of the contemporary Jews, e.g., those of Jesus' generation, or to any subject in which the Jew is presented in the context of general events having an informative character. The appellation Ioudaios is never used to present a positive portrait of a Jew, that is to say, that if one Father would call Philo a "Hebrew", he would point to his "noble" character worthy of the honor accorded to him by the Church, while when the other Father would say "Philo the Jew", he would not necessarily express contempt for him but indicate that by religious affinity he was not a Christian nor a pagan but an adherent of Judaism of his time.

T(4). Church Fathers who in their writings engage very little in anti-Jewish polemics, sometimes make no distinction in using the two appellations. However, never will the usage be made in a reversed meaning. The negative character of Ioudaios and the positive of Hebraios is always preserved.

T(5). Proximity usage, i.e., usage of the two appellations in order to prove a point in the same context, or to demonstrate the opposite of the two appellations, is used by the very emotional orators when the intention of the orator is to contrast the contemporary Jews with the ancient Hebrews

who--by the doctrine of the Church--were the early Christians.²¹

Eusebius, His Doctrines and their Impact on
the Appellations of the Jews

The era of intense literary creativity by the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers is opened by Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea in the first half of the fourth century. Born ca. 260 A.D., he was ordained as priest and settled in Caesarea; he passed the period of the persecutions of Diocletian, which broke out in 303, in jail. He was made bishop of Caesarea in 313. In 325 he was active in the Council of Nicaea and was very influential on Constantine's side. He died in 340. He lived, therefore, in Palestine in the time when the Jerusalem Talmud was in the stage of its formation and the academies of Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Caesarea were still fully active. The Jewish communities and the Patriarchate were, however, already on a course of decline.²² Eusebius' knowledge of the Palestinian Jews is therefore firsthand, and the acrimonious tone of his writings no doubt expresses and is representative of the feelings of most bishops of his generation.

Eusebius is the first great historian of the Church

²¹ According to certain Church Fathers, Abraham was a true Christian and so was Jacob. See pp. 19, 20, *infra*. (Eusebius)

²² A midrash in Gen. Rabba, parasha 9 expresses the lack of respect for the Patriarchate both by Jews and the Roman authorities; the homilist concludes critically and ironically kabat ken ha'em, kador ken ha-Nasi (like mother--so is her daughter, like the generation--so is the Patriarch!).

from its inception until Constantine's days. His classical work called Ecclesiastical History,²³ is a landmark in Church Literature, in which he presented a review of Jewish history, from the Christian point of view. Speaking from a position of strength as a head of the now powerful Church vis a vis a beaten and downtrodden enemy, the hated 'Jewish nation,' he gives expression to his feelings in clearly worded statements and accusations. He therefore is the first writer to make the clear-cut distinction between the hated Jews and their ancestors the Hebrews. In Eusebius' eyes, the Christians are the continuators of the traditions, faith and customs of the Hebrews; hence, the Hebrews are not only blameless, but honored and praiseworthy.

The two other most important works which are the source of Eusebius' doctrine of the ancestry of the Christian faith, in which he declares the Hebrews to be the primitive Christians, and Abraham "a Christian in fact," are named Preparatio Evangelica and Demonstratio Evangelica.²⁴

"Preparatio" is directed against the heathens and aims to show that the Christians are justified in accepting the Sacred Books of the Hebrews and in rejecting the religion and

²³Op. cit. See Vol. I, Introduction, note 35.

²⁴Not all the books of Preparatio and Demonstratio are extant; four of his other works: Chronicle, Martyrs of Palestine, Onomasticon, and the Life of Constantine, do not contain material relating to our study. For the reference to Abraham see Eccl. Hist. Bk. I, IV 3-6 and p. 25 infra.

philosophy of the Greeks. Demonstratio endeavors to prove from the Sacred Books of the Hebrews themselves that the Christians do right in going beyond the Jews in accepting Jesus as Messiah. Preparatio is therefore a way, a preparation, for the latter; the two together constitute a defense of Christianity against all the world, Jews and heathens. In Demonstratio Eusebius shows

why the Christians pursue a mode of life different from that of the Jews, drawing a distinction between Hebraism the religion of all pious men from the beginning and Judaism, the special system of the Jews, and pointing out that Christianity is a continuation of the former but a rejection of the latter.

(NPNF, 2nd Series, Prolegomena, p. 34)

One of Eusebius' declared purposes in writing his Church History was "to relate the misfortunes which have come upon the entire Jewish people (pan Ioudaion ethnos), as a result of their plots against our Savior."²⁵ This generalization puts a collective blame on the Jews in all generations, wherever they may dwell.

Quoting Josephus on the sufferings of the Jewish population in Jerusalem and Judaea during the war, Eusebius rejoices:

The same writer [Josephus] shows that . . . evil never ceased in the city and throughout Judaea, until the time when the siege under Vespasian came upon them, as the last scene of all. Thus the penalty of God pursued the Jews for their crimes against Christ.

(emphasis mine) (Eccl. Hist. Book V.vi.6)

Eusebius sees in the siege of Jerusalem "no other reason than the crime which they [the Jews] committed against

²⁵ Eccl. Hist., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 7.

James." Again, he cites Josephus' testimony:

Of course, Josephus did not shrink from giving written testimony to this as follows: "And these things happened to the Jews to avenge James the Just who was the brother of Jesus the so called Christ, for the Jews killed him in spite of his great righteousness."

(Op. cit., Book II.xxiii 19-23)

However, such a statement is missing both in our present text of Josephus' Wars and Antiquities.²⁶ But Eusebius' tendency to accuse the Jews of their crimes, produced this alleged testimony. He expands on Josephus' detailed account "of the catastrophe which overcame the whole Jewish race" not only in Judaea but also in the Dispersion. "Everywhere," says Eusebius, "the Gentiles mercilessly attacked the Jews in the cities as though they were foes." So Eusebius sums up his justification of the anti-Jewish outbursts and massacres by Christians, a fact which had its impact on future generations as well.

Eusebius ascribes the leaving of the city of Jerusalem for Pella in Perea by the 'Christian-Jews' before the

²⁶ Among Jewish scholars who refute the genuineness of this passage is Solomon Zeitlin (see The Rise and Fall, op. cit., Appendices, p. 374). The passage quoted by Eusebius, as it appears in our present edition of Antiquities, Book XX. 200, states only that "James the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ" was brought before the Sanhedrin. It should be noted that, contrary to his general practice of indicating the location of a quoted passage, Eusebius fails to do so in this case. Some non-Jewish critics are in agreement with Zeitlin. See also NPNF 2nd Series, Vol. I, p. 127, note 33, where Eusebius' reliance on Origen is given as the cause of his failure to give the source in Josephus. Schürer, in his History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus, N.Y., 1961, pp. 212-14, is also disputing the genuineness of this passage.

outbreak of the war as being due to "a command by an oracle given by revelation" so that:

the judgement of God might at last overtake them [the Jews] for all their crimes against the Christ and his Apostles and all that generation of the wicked be utterly blotted out from among men.

(Book III. V. 3-5)

This is the culmination of Eusebius' hateful anti-Jewish expressions, by which Christians were incited to hate the Jews and see in their sufferings and misery an act of punishment for the crimes committed against Christ and the Apostles. Among the hateful quotations from other writers made by Eusebius are those from Justin Martyr. In addition to the charge of plotting against Christ and the Church, he forwards a new charge that "the Jews had cut out of the Scripture" some texts from the Prophets (Book IV.XVIII.8).²⁷

In a similar context of wrong Scripture interpretation of Is. 7:14, "Behold a young woman shall conceive and bear a son," Eusebius, quoting Irenaeus, criticizes Theodotion of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus for their distortion of the meaning of "עַלְמָה." Their "Jewish" complicity is emphasized: "Both of them Jewish proselytes, whom the Ebionites²⁸ follow and aver that he [Jesus] was begotten by Joseph." (V.VII. 8-12)

²⁷ This is one of the most repeated accusations of the Church Fathers in centuries, from Justin to Jerome, against the Rabbis. St. Augustine alone stands out among them in his disbelief in the alleged forgeries. See quotations of the Fathers' writings, pp. 27, 46, 47 and note 67, *infra*.

²⁸ Derided elsewhere in Book III.XXVII.1.

Eusebius on the Hebrews.

In Eusebius' view, the seeds of true religion had been strewn by the descendants of "the Hebrews," and the time when the heathen world was "fitted" for the benefits prepared for them beforehand came in Jesus' lifetime (Book I.II 21-23). The Hebrews were calling "Christ" ($\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$), not only the anointed High Priests but also the Kings, who were anointed by the prophets (Book I.III 7-11). Jesus' messiahship is compared to that of Malchizedek, who was a priest of the Most High God, although he did not even belong by racial descent to the priesthood of the Hebrews (I.III 15-19). On the Christians' relation to the Hebrews, Eusebius has this to say:

But even if we are clearly new, and this really fresh name of Christians is recently known among all nations, nevertheless our life and method of conduct, in accordance with the precepts of our religion, has not been recently invented by us. . . . The race of the Hebrews is not new, but is honored by all men for its antiquity and is itself well known to all.

(emphasis mine) (Book I.IV.3-6)

Eusebius continues:

Among them were men remarkable for piety and righteousness, and for all other virtues. . . .

. . . Especially Abraham whom the children of the Hebrews boast as their own originator and ancestor. . . .
(Book I, IV 3-6)

He goes on to say that righteous men like Abraham were "Christians in fact" (Ibid.). The link between Jesus' followers and the ancestor of the Hebrews, Abraham, has thus been established. This is the first cornerstone of the

Church's affectionate attitude to the term "Hebrew."²⁹

Among the Apostles, according to Eusebius, Mark was of "Hebrew origin" and was active in Philo's days in Alexandria. Matthew as well "had first preached to the Hebrews" (III.xxiv.3-8) and he had written down the Gospel according to himself in his "native language."³⁰ In the non-canonical literature of the New Testament, Eusebius mentions also a work named "the Gospel according to the Hebrews,"

in which those of the Hebrews who have accepted Christ take a special pleasure (III.xxv.6).

These expressions indicate a sympathetic approach to those Jews who joined the new faith. Those who accept Christ, are designated as Hebrews. Those who reject him are Ioudaioi. This is compatible with his views in Preparatio Evangelica.³¹

²⁹See my comment on Paul's reason for anchoring Christianity in Abraham. Eusebius continues the proof of the argument that the Christians are new in name only, but in their religion are the very faithful continuators of the faith of the Hebrews, and by according them full honors, the appellation "Hebrew" (Hebraios) necessarily represents the respectable image of the ancient Jew. (For Paul see Vol.I.p.204).

³⁰In Book III.xxxiv 12-16, Matthew's language is said to have been Hebrew and in Book V.viii.4 he says: Matthew published among the Hebrews a written Gospel also in their own tongue. In Book V.x 1, Bartholomew is said to have preached to the Ioudaiois, and have left them "the writings of Matthew in Hebrew letters."

³¹See our comment on the incidents in the Early Church community in Jerusalem reported in Acts 6:1 (Vol. I, p. 188). The view of the Church is that a man dropped his external shell of Ioudaios, and through his allegiance to Christ, he was instantly transformed into a Hebraios with full honors.

Treating the subject of the Ebionites in the early Church, the subject of Hebrew comes up again. Their name--he explains--originates from "Ebion" which means in Hebrew poor "because they had poor and mean opinions concerning Christ" (III.xxvii.1). "They used only the Gospel called "According to the Hebrews," and made little account of the rest. They used to observe the Sabbath and the rest of Jewish ceremonials.

Note how Eusebius terms the ceremonials condemned by the Church 'Jewish' and not 'Hebrew', although their origin stems from the most ancient traditions. But his attitude is perfectly in order with the theses we have formulated in the beginning of this chapter.

Speaking of the bishops of the Church in Jerusalem up to the siege of the Jews by Hadrian, Eusebius says they were all Hebrews by origin,

who had nobly accepted the knowledge of Christ. For their whole church at that time consisted of Hebrews, who had continued Christian from the Apostles down to the siege.³² (emphasis mine)

The designation of the Jews who embraced Christianity with the epithet "noble Hebrews," is another confirmation of our thesis. The Jewish bishops are not the only noble Hebrews. While Eusebius adopts generally a scornful attitude to the Jewish nation as a whole, he makes exception to a few indi-

³²Until Hadrian's time they were all circumcised. The first uncircumcised bishop after Hadrian's ban of the Jews from Jerusalem was Marcus, instituted in 141 A.D. See Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. I, p 356

vidual Jews of high standing in the Church's eye. This is the case of the two prominent Jewish personalities of the 1st Century A.D. whose writings are a supporting element in the Church's doctrine about the events leading to the catastrophe of the Jews, or to the philosophical concepts of hellenistic Judaism, leading to the Christian faith. Eusebius' task has already been made easy by Josephus himself, who as discussed earlier, has introduced himself in the "Jewish Wars" as a Hebraios.³³ Eusebius introduces Josephus to his readers as "the most famous of the historians among the Hebrews" (Book I.v 1-3). Throughout his works he quotes Josephus in order to support his view that the fate of the Jews in 70 A.D. was nothing else but a punishment for their acts against Jesus Christ. He also quotes Josephus in the famous passage on Jesus (Antiquities 18:63-64) who "led after him many of the Jews and many also of the Gentile population. This was the Christ."³⁴ And next comes Eusebius' admiration for Josephus (the Hebrew):

When a writer sprung from the Hebrews themselves handed on in his own writing these details concerning John the Baptist and our Savior, what alternative is there but to convict of shamelessness, those who have concocted the reports about them? (Book I.xi 7)

³³The Wars, op. cit., Book I (1), 3.

³⁴At best, this passage is presently admitted by all scholars to be a Christian interpolation, or gloss. (a) See Eisler's discussion in Antiquities, Vol. 9, Book XVIII, pp. 50-51. (b) See Zeitlin's comment in The Rise and Fall, op. cit., Appendices, p. 374. He claims that the passage is an absolute forgery. Schürer, in his Excursus on the subject (see note 19), also rejects the genuineness of the "Christ passage."

Eusebius' adoration goes out next for Philo:

In his reign [Gaius'] Philo became generally known as a man of the greatest distinction, not only among our own people, but also among those of heathen education. He was a Hebrew by racial descent,³⁵ but inferior to none of the magnates in authority in Alexandria (Book II.iv).

Suddenly, Eusebius' style changes. Philo is a "Hebrew," but the people about whom he writes are called "Jews."

Now this writer has narrated in five books, what happened to the Jews in the time of Gaius . . . of the misery of the Jews in his time . . . on the mission he was entrusted on behalf of those of his own race in Alexandria. . . . (Book II.v 1) (underlining mine)

Note the double standard of Eusebius' appellations: Philo is a "Hebrew by racial descent," while his people's race is "Jewish." Eusebius finds that Philo was not a passive observer of the ascending wave of conversion to Christianity in Alexandria. He claims, however, that tradition has it that Philo came to Rome in the time of Claudius to speak to Peter who was at the time preaching there (Book II. xvi). Further evidence of Philo's sympathy with the Christians in Alexandria is claimed by Eusebius on the grounds of Philo's work on *The Therapeutae*.³⁶ These are none other--in Eusebius' view--than the Alexandrian converts to Christianity and

Moreover, from his very accurate description of the life

³⁵ Note the similarity of terminology used by Eusebius and Josephus (*Wars*, L C L., p. 3) who presents himself as of genei Hebraios.

³⁶ Philo, *Works*, L C L., Vol. IX. *The Contemplative Life*, pp. 114ff.

of our ascetics it will be plain, that he not only knew, but welcomed, revered and recognized the divine mission of the apostolic men of his day who were it appears of Hebrew origin.³⁷ . . . (emphasis mine)

Just as Eusebius has kind words for Philo as a distinguished Hebraios, he accords this honor to another Jew, Trypho, the famous participant in the dialogue with Justin Martyr. Writing about Justin he says:

He also composed a dialogue against the Jews, which he held in the city of Ephesus against Trypho, the most distinguished of the Hebrews of the day.
(Book IV.xviii 4-8)

But when it comes to the hated Jews, Eusebius resumes his other tone:

In the same book he narrates about the Jews how they plotted against the teaching of Christ, and presses the same point against Trypho. (Ibid.)

Eusebius' Impact on the Usage of the Appellations

The impact of Eusebius' categorization of the appellations of the Jews on future authors of the Christian Church cannot be underestimated. For the first time has a highly respected ecclesiastic had given a historical "documentation" and a reason why such distinction should be made. He has--so to say--established general principles, governing the usage of the appellations. We can formulate them as follows:

- 1) Any time a positive image of the Jews, contempo-

³⁷This appreciation of Philo by the Church finds expression in Jerome's inclusion of Philo in the list of Christian illustrious men, as a man "who contributed to the promotion of Christianity." See NPNF, 2nd Ser., Vol. VI, p. 523.

rary or ancient is to be presented, Hebraios is the proper appellation.

- 2) The appellation Ioudaios should be used in pointing out the negative character of the Jews, both contemporary and their ancestors.

These principles were indeed applied by all Eusebius' followers in the Church literature: But as a corollary, they had an impact even on Pagan society. This is evident from the writings of the Emperor Julian the Apostate, which we shall analyze later in this chapter.

Other Church Historians

Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History was subsequently extended from Constantine's times down to their own days by three writers: Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

Socrates, an Alexandrian by birth (379-440) is praised as a historian for his unusual impartiality and objectivity in his description of heresies. However, when it comes to the Jews he condemns them outright:

For the Jews are more solicitous about outward solemnities, than the obedience of the heart; and therefore they are under the curse, because they do not discern the spiritual bearing of the Mosaic Laws, but rest in its types and shadows. . . . Those who favor the Jews . . . necessarily involve themselves in a common condemnation with the Jews.

(NPNF, 2nd Ser., Vol. II, Book III, Ch. XXII, end)

In his references to the problem of fixing the date of Christian Pascha (Easter), and the divisive opinions in the Church on this subject in Constantine's days, he quotes the latter's harsh words against the Jews in his epistle to the Churches:

It seems very unworthy of this most sacred feast, that we should keep it following the custom of the Jews . . . therefore, have nothing in common with that most hostile people the Jews, [Christians should have] no communion with the perfury of the Jews.

(Ibid., Book I, Ch. IX)

On the same subject he quotes Eusebius' testimony in The Life of Constantine (III 19) that the latter used even stronger language: "It becomes us to have nothing in common with the perfidious Jews."

Sozomen, who was a native of Palestine (Bethulia near Gaza), of Christian parentage, and knowledgeable in the history of the Syriac Church, had "a better acquaintance with the facts and purposes of Jewish history, the relationship of Judaism to Christianity." He generally uses interchangeably "Jews" and "Hebrews," not adhering to Eusebius' principles.

Speaking of the Jews' rejection of Christ he says:

. . . The Hebrews, although in possession of numerous and more distinct prophecies concerning the coming of Christ were less willing to embrace Him than the Greeks.

(Book I, Ch. I)

But even Jews of his own time are designated as "Hebrews." On Helena's (Constantine's mother) effort to uncover the site of Golgotha he says:

. . . some say that the facts [leading to the discovery] were first disclosed by a Hebrew who dwelt in the East, and who derived the information from some documents which had come to him by paternal inheritance.

(Book II.1)

This type of usage is the expression of a "neutralistic" view, when historical facts are cited, and no blame or

³⁸ NPNE, 2nd Series, Vol. II, Chapt. I.1. Editor's comment.

praise of the Jew is directly involved in the presented case.

The third historian, Theodoret,³⁹ uses the appellation "Jews" in the context of charges he trades against them, similar to those already made in earlier Church literature. Malignity and impudence are the qualities of the Jews. Referring to Matth. 216,⁴⁰ he charges the Jews with perjury of the Biblical texts:

Now let us subjoin what the Jews in their malignity omitted and so made the witness imperfect.

(NPNF, Vol. III, Dialogues I, p. 165)⁴¹

Jews give erroneous interpretation of prophecies of this kind. (Ibid., p. 169)

To those who hold a more tolerant view of the Jews he says: "You are advocating the impudence of the Jews" (Ibid., p. 170).

The writings of the three minor Church historians are not, however, typical of the image of the Jew created by the writers of their age. The hundred years that followed Eusebius' death were a century of prolific Church literature of all genres: apologetics, Bible exegesis, homilies, dialogues, letters, invectives, and the biggest religio-historical event of the age, the translation of the Bible into

³⁹ Born ca. 390, died 453. Was consecrated as Bishop of Cyrus, a town in Syria, in 423. His main works are (1) Church History, (2) Dialogues, and (3) Letters.

⁴⁰ Quoting Micah 5:1-6, "And thou Bethlehem Ephratha. . . ."

⁴¹ See note 27, supra.

Latin by Jerome.⁴² The image some of the writers created of the contemporary Jews, and those of the Crucifixion era, on the one hand, and that of the ancient Hebrews and their correlation to the Evangel and the Church on the other hand, is dominated by hostile expressions, and the imposition of a collective guilt on the Jews for the crimes they committed in rejecting Jesus' messiahship. There are, of course, other in those works the appellations are not used in a way which accentuates these accusations, or some, like Ambrose, who although they were actively engaged in anti-Jewish campaigns,⁴⁴ did not express their views by emphasizing the choice of appellations in a striking manner.

The New Trend in the Fourth Century Church Literature

In the first three centuries of the Christian era, the Jews were a subject of criticism by the Apostles, the Apostolic Fathers, and early Church Fathers, for their rejection of Christ, persecution of Christians, and correlated acts, which made them a target of hatred. There was, however, a gradual transition in the style and tone used in the literature of that period. The original benevolent attitude of

⁴² See note 67, *infra*. Editor's opinion, see Vol. VI, p. 9.

⁴³ In this group we may include: Sulpicius Severus (363-420), a contemporary of Jerome and Augustine, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian.

⁴⁴ St. Ambrose was involved in the incident of burning a synagogue; he was forced by the order of Theodosius to rebuild it. See Pierre De Labriolle, History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius, New York, 1925, p. 273.

Paul to the Jews, seeing them as being in error, but hoping for their ultimate return to Christ, forgiving and salvation, gradually gave way to harsher views and methods of combatting the unbelievers. Since the Church's severance from the parent body, in particular after the second Jewish defeat by the Romans, the razing of Jerusalem by Hadrian, the new wave of persecution of the Jew, their uprooting from their land and further dispersion among the nations on the one hand, and the disillusionment of the Rabbis with the idea of Bar-Kokhba's messiahship,⁴⁵ the inevitable conclusion that the fate of the Jews as an independent nation was sealed forever, was drawn both by the Jews and the Church. This thesis became the cornerstone of the Church propaganda; the negative aspects stressing the punishment of the Jews by Divinity, and their replacement as the Chosen People by the Christian Church, were accentuated by the Christian apologists. Their attitude towards Judaism had stiffened. The refusal of the Jews to join the Church despite the apostolic preaching was regarded more and more as blindness and malice. The struggle between the Church writers and the Rabbinical Establishment broadened in the second and third centuries; polemics intensified; both the Church and the Synagogue trained their disciples in the art of debating the opponent, "true" inter-

⁴⁵Bar Kokhba, hailed by R. Akiba as the new Messiah, was rejected by the other rabbis who called him "Bar-Koziba" (the liar or deceiver). (See Schürer, *Hist. of the Jews*, op. cit., p. 299 and relative notes 73, 74, 75.)

pretation of selected passages from Scripture, and refutation of the other party's "false" views.⁴⁶ This activity initiated by Justin Martyr and followed by Origene in the second and third centuries, gained in magnitude in the fourth century in particular by St. Cyril's Katechetical School in Jerusalem. The selective usage of the appellations by orators, writers, polemicists, gave a particular tinge to each of them. Their goal was the conversion of the Jews. In promoting this process, the methods adopted both in speech and in literature were unselective. The refutation and debasement of Judaism progressively became integral elements of the Church's apologetics, both through debates, the pulpit, and writings. Justin started out with the thesis that Jewish misfortunes are the consequence of divine punish-

⁴⁶ Jewish worries and preoccupation with the "front" of polemics created by the aggressive Church is attested by the story in Hagiga 8; when the Jewish "expert" R. Joshua ben Hananiah died, the sages said: who will now defend us before the Minim? The aggressive activity of the Church in this area (polemics) is repeatedly taken up in the Talmud, e.g., R. Joshua ben Levi (Berakhot 7), Rabbi Abbahu, Sanh. 39; Sukkah 48; Sanh. 99; Ab. Zarah 4; R. Simlai Midrash Exodus Rabba 29; R. Johanan, Sanh. 38; R. Ishmael, Sanh. 38; many Jewish sources in describing the Christian polemicists' activity among the Jews use the expression "ק"י' מקנטרו" --he [the Christian] was annoying him [the Jewish sage]. See the case of R. Jehuda ben Nakosa in Midrash Kohelet Rabba Aleph. The Christian training of such activists is attested by St. Cyril's work "Katechesis," of which extracts speaking for themselves, are brought in our thesis below.

ment for the death of Christ; this theme was presented by later Church Fathers⁴⁷ in an acrimonious tone and expressions, which finally emerged as the charge of deicide for which the Jewish people and the individual bearing the name "Jew" was responsible. The purely theological arguments without acrimony used in Tertullian's writings and later in St. Augustine's works are the exception in the whole Christian literature between 200-500 A.D. All other writers contributed in various forms to the decisive formation of the negative meaning of the name Ioudaios. Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome and Chrysostom, not only expressly presented themselves as haters of the Jews, but were the authors of the abusive, insulting, denigrating appellations of the Jews, by comparing them to vicious animals, snakes, dogs, etc. In this sense no century was more fateful in forming the new image of the Jew and attaching to the appellation Ioudaios its amoral, criminal, bestial meaning, than the fourth century.

The impact of such activity could not but result in a general denigration of the appellation Ioudaios in the Roman and Byzantine Empires. The Church has made its definite categorization of the three appellations Ioudaios, Hebraios and Israel as to their usage and meaning.

⁴⁷ Origen, Against Celsus, 4:22, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. IV, p. 433; St. Hippolytus, Demonstratio Adversus Iudaeos, Ibid., Vol. V, p. 219.

- 1) Ioudaios - the name of the despised Jew.
- 2) Hebraios - the name of the ancient Jews, the forerunners of the Christians, and a name accorded to exceptionally honorable Jews, if respected by the Church.
- 3) Israel - The name legally taken over by the Christian Church from the Jewish people after it rejected the Prophetic annunciations of the coming Christ.

Juster,⁴⁸ in dealing with the problem of why Theodosius in his Code uses the appellation Ioudaios, while Justinian in his Novellae used Hebraios, finds that the reason is precisely the definite worsening of the meaning of the appellation Ioudaios, and its reaching such a low standard that it was already improper to use it in the legal terminology.

The creation of the climate leading to this state of affairs is our concern. We shall let the quotations from the Church Fathers' writings speak for themselves.

The Post-Nicene Church Fathers

1. St. John Chrysostom (ca. 344-407 A.D.). Born in

⁴⁸ Jean Juster, Les Juifs, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 174, Note 1. In his opinion the definite worsening occurred at the beginning of the fifth century, as a result of the Church Father's earlier activity. See also Note 7 supra.

Antioch, monk, deacon and priest, he preached at the Cathedral for twelve years, where he gained the admiration of the people for his eloquence (golden mouth). His influence was great both in the Church and on the political scene. In 398 he was made Patriarch of Constantinople. Because of his denunciation of the moral standard of the court, he was banished and exiled to the Caucasus where he died. He is considered to be among the most brilliant writers of the Church. In the area of his writings against the Jews, it can be said that there is no homily where he does not attack them. His style is very acrimonious and virulent. The most aggressive invectives against the Jews were pronounced in his eight homilies against the Jews.⁴⁹ His discourses were prompted by the fact that Christians from among his flock were meeting on friendly terms with Jews and were even attending the synagogue. In order to bring an end to these relations Chrysostom used his eloquence of mouth and skill of pen to engender in Christians fear and disgust of Judaism. He accuses the Jews

Of their rapine, their cupidity, their deception of the poor, of thieveries, and huckstering. Indeed a whole day would not suffice to tell all.

Homily 1:7, P.G. 48:853

He urges his flock not to converse with the Jews. How can Christians dare

have the slightest converse with Jews, most miserable of all men, men who are . . . lustful, rapacious, greedy, perfidious bandits.

Homily 4:1

⁴⁹ They are not part of the collection NPNF and are quoted from Patrologia Greaca, 48:843-942 by E.H. Flannery in his work, The Anguish of the Jews, MacMillan, N.Y. 1965.

Are they not [the Jews]

inveterate murderers, destroyers, men possessed by the devil, whom debauchery and drunkenness have given them the manners of the pig and the lusty goat? They are impure and impious. . . .

Homily 1:4

Indeed, he continues,

They have surpassed in ferocity wild beasts for they murder their offspring and immolate them to the devil. . . .

Homily 1:6

Speaking of the Synagogue, Chrysostom instills in the minds of the Christians extraordinary concepts and coined phrases concerning the Jewish rites, morals, and institutions: The Synagogue is presented as "a house of prostitution," "a cavery of brigands," "a repair of wild beasts" (Homily 6:5), "the domicile of the devil" (Homily 1:6); their rites are "criminal and impure" (Homily 3:1). The synagogue is

. . . an assembly of criminals . . . a den of thieves
. . . a cavern of devils, an abyss of perdition. . . .

Homily 6:6

He urges his flock again to dissociate themselves from the Jews who committed

. . . the odious assassination of Christ, for which crime there is no expiation possible, no indulgence, no pardon, and for which they will always be a people without a land, enduring a servitude without end.

Therefore, it is the duty of Christians to hate the Jews and to avoid them:⁵⁰

Flee, then their assemblies, flee their houses, and far from venerating the Synagogue because of the books it

⁵⁰ This speech is addressed against the Judaizers of Antioch.

contains hold it in hatred and aversion for the same reason.

Homily 1:5

He amplifies this exhortation by serving as a personal example:

I hate the Jews because they violate the Law. I hate the synagogue because it has the Law and the Prophets. It is the duty of all Christians to hate the Jews. (emphasis mine) Homily 6:6

Chrysostom associates God in his hatred: "God hates the Jews and has always hated them." (Homily 6:4)

The dominant tone of the foregoing homilies is a call to violent hatred and effacing the human character of the contemporary Jew. It should be noted, however, that nowhere in his other works (Volumes IX-XIV of NPNF) does Chrysostom resort to such a biting style. As his predecessors, Justin, Origen, Tertullian, the argumentation against the Jews is still preserved--generally--in a low-key, theological style. Opinions on Jews' interpretation of the Old Testament are expressed in a quiet, contained--although blaming--tone. An example of such a style is given by Chrysostom, when speaking on the Jews' attitude to the Law:

But the Jews so revere the Law, that although the time has come which annuls it, they still content for the observance of all its contents, contrary to the purpose of God.⁵¹

(On the Priesthood Book IV.4)

How does Chrysostom use the other appellations? Their

⁵¹ NPNF, Vol. IX, p. 65. The contrast between the style of the last passage and the former hostile preaching against the Jews shows that the hostile tone is used only in special treatises and homilies devoted to deal with the Jews as a target of denunciation, denigration, and character assassination of the appellation "Jew."

meaning is emphasized by juxtaposition and contrasting. Typical are the following examples:

a) On Esther and the Jews:

There was a certain Hebrew woman, Esther was her name. This Esther rescued the whole people of the Jews, when they were about to be delivered over to destruction. . . .
(NPNF, Vol. IX, p. 356, Homily III.6)

b) On Hebrews and Israelites:

Dwelling on Paul's exclamation in 2. Cor. XI. 22:

"Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I,"

Chrysostom says:

For it was not all Hebrews that were Israelites, since, both Ammonites and Moabites were Hebrews. Wherefore he added somewhat to clear his nobility of descent and says, "Are they the seed of Abraham? So am I." 52
(Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 394)

c) On Jews-Gentiles:

For the Jews are the contradistinction to the Gentiles, the Circumcision to the Uncircumcision.
(Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 18)

d) On Israel, New and Old:

Speaking of circumcision which "avails now to nothing," he says:

For they [the uncircumcised] . . . may properly be called by the name of "Israel". While they who hold contrary sentiments although they be descendants from him (Israel) these things, both the relationship and the name itself. But it is in their power to be true Israelites, who keep this rule, who desist from the old ways, and follow after grace. (underlining mine)
(Commentary on Galatians, Ch. VI, Ibid., p. 47).

As a complementary thesis to the transformation of

⁵²This is a remarkable statement pointing to a certain prevailing concept in Chrysostom's time that the neighbors of ancient Israel had in their population certain non-Israelite tribes designated as "Hebrews". Compare my Excursus II, infra. This interpretation differs considerably from Eusebius' position with regard to "Hebrews".

the image of the contemporary Jew into a bestial devilish figure, the name of Israel and Israelite was--on theological grounds--expropriated from the old owners and appropriated by the Church.

2. Gregory of Nyssa (331-396) is said to be one of the greatest philosopher-theologians of his age. Born in Cappadocia, he attained a high rank in the Church hierarchy and participated in the second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople. He was one of the most honored Fathers⁵³ who with their skillful pen shaped the concepts, ideas and opinions of the Christian Church and its literature. His style is analytical, and calm in his arguments he does not resort to wholesale accusations against the Jews. In a letter to his sisters and daughter, Gregory mentions the Jews without animosity, but as being in error.

. . . and by God's enemies I mean those who deny the glory of our Lord, be they Jews, or downright idolaters, or those who through Arius' teaching idolize the creature and so adopt the error of the Jews.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, Gregory is carried away emotionally when delivering an oration on the Resurrection; he charges the Jews with the same language which Chrysostom used, and declares that they are:

slayers of the Lord, murderers of the Prophets, adversaries of God, men who show contempt for the Law, foes of

⁵³See note 6.

⁵⁴Letter XVII. NPNF, Vol. V, p. 542.

grace, enemies of their Fathers faith, advocates of the Devil, brood of vipers, slanderers, scoffers, men whose minds are in darkness, leaven of the Pharisees, assembly of demons, sinners, wicked men, stoners, and haters of righteousness.⁵⁵

This is a concentrated load of charges which definitely had to do with the prevailing trend of that age in Church literature, to turn the image of the living Jew into that of a viper and son of the devil. Gregory's own definition of what is in an appellation⁵⁶ points to the impact which his own and Chrysostom's terminology could have had on their own and future generations of Christians on the one hand, and on the conditions of Jewish life in a hostile environment, on the other hand.

As to the other appellations, Gregory uses "Hebrews," generally, in historical-religious contexts ("the people of the Hebrews"--in the Exodus period).⁵⁷ He is also the example of the dualistic approach of the Church Fathers to the appellations Hebraios-Ioudaios in their positive and negative meanings. Speaking, for instance, on the Sabbath, he says:

(a) The fact that the people of the Hebrews according to the Law kept the Sabbath on the seventh day. . . .

(b) In the very proximity he refers to his contemporary fellow-Jews:
 . . . Because the Jew honors his Sabbath by idleness
 . . .

The two appellations are used in an argument with

⁵⁵ Oratio in Christi resurrectionem, XV, p. 553

⁵⁶ See p. 7, *supra*.

⁵⁷ NPNF, 2nd Series, Vol. V, p. 522.

Eunomius.⁵⁸ It is clear that (a) expresses appreciation, while (b) expresses contempt. This method of juxtaposition of the two appellations in proximate quotations or expressions of opinion as a means of exposition of the contrast between them is very common in Gregory's analytical style. In another illustrative passage of this sort, in his polemic with Eunomius, the "good" Hebrew is personified by Philo (Eusebius has set the example). Accusing Eunomius of plagiarism from Philo, Gregory states:

The phrase has been transferred by our pamphleteer word for word from the Hebrew Philo to his own argument. . . . (He proceeds to quote Philo) . . . In the Hebrew author you may find the phrase in this form . . . (and points out that Eunomius quotation) . . . is an addition of the new Judaism. . . .

This "new Judaism" is in Gregory's opinion negative, and he contends that there is a close relationship between the doctrine of Eunomius and the reasoning of the Jews.⁵⁹

If we put aside Gregory's slanderous outburst in the "Resurrection of Christ," it can be said that he is the first to introduce into the Christian literature, by analytical method, the contrasting meanings of "Hebrew" and "Jew" as the thesis and antithesis of good and bad, positive and negative.

3. Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 313-387) was installed bishop of Jerusalem in 351, in a period of strife and doctrinal controversy within the Church. His famous work is the

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 216, Against Eunomius, Book IX.3.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 212.

Catechetical Lectures. They contain certain allusions to the contemporary Jews, when in his guidance to the faithful Christians he lectures them on the methods and arguments to be used against the former--in polemics and debates concerning the messiahship of Jesus--by quoting the proper passages from Scripture proving the Christian point of view:⁶⁰

You are taking up arms against the enemy, against the Samaritans, against the Gentiles, against the Jews . . . take plenty of ammunition . . . you must learn how to shoot down the Greek and how to battle with heretic Jew or Samaritan.

(Procatechesis 10, FOTC, Vol. 61.I, p.78)

Cyril lived in Jerusalem in the middle of the fourth century when access of the Jews to the city was still forbidden. Jewish communities, however, were still active and the Palestinian Talmud was in its closing phase. He calls his contemporaries "Jews" (Ioudaioi), but when he becomes emotional in his homilies, while arguing with the Jews, he may use both "Jews" and "Hebrews" without distinction, and not in the categorized usages which we found by Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa. Arguing on the passage of Is.65:15⁶¹ Cyril exclaims:

Let us ask the Jews. Do you serve the Lord or not? Show me therefore your new name; for you were called "Jews" and "Israelites" in the time of Moses and the other prophets and after the return from Babylon, and up

⁶⁰ On the climate of Judaeo-Christian polemics in Palestine, see note 46.

⁶¹ And you shall leave your name for a curse unto Mine elect: "So may the Lord God slay thee"; But He shall call His servants by another name.

to the present day;⁶² where then is your new name?
(Catechesis X.16, Ibid., p. 206)

Cyril concludes that the new name is "Christian."
The Christians are therefore the ancient Israelites under a
new name.

Generally, Cyril is more of a polemicist than an
analytical theologian, and he is not precise or consistent in
the usage of the appellations. He uses them at his discre-
tion without paying attention to the "principles" followed by
Eusebius. Speaking of the feast of Passover, which the con-
temporary Jews observe, he says (referring to the contempo-
rary Jews):

This is the time, the first month [Nissan-Xanthicus]
among the Hebrews in which is celebrated the feast of the
Pasch.

(Catechesis XIV.10, Ibid. Vol. II,
p. 38).

In another polemical argument with the contemporary
Jews he argues with them:

Hebrews wrote the earlier history; the Apostles were also
all Hebrews. Why therefore do you disbelieve Jews?
Matthew who wrote the Gospel wrote it in the Hebrew
tongue, and Paul the preacher was a Hebrew of the Hebrews;

⁶²This testimony of Cyril regarding the appellation
"Israelites" of Jews living in Palestine in the fourth cen-
tury is unique in the Christian literature of that age and
was already noted by Juster (Les Juifs, op. cit., Vol. I, p.
173, note 4). I have pointed out in Chapter Five (the Mish-
nah) that "Israel" as an appellation of an individual is only at-
tested in the Jewish sector and mainly as a legal person,
therefore by our own categories, an internal usage appella-
tion. Not having found any other sources to support St.
Cyril's emotional exclamation, it is my view that he is not
precise in the usage of the three appellations and inter-
mingles them freely if they serve better and easier his po-
lemical purpose. See other quotations and compare.

and the twelve apostles were of Hebrew stock; besides, fifteen bishops of Jerusalem in succession were appointed from the Hebrews. Why do you accept your own accounts but reject ours, though these too were written by Hebrews among you? (underlining mine)

(Catechesis XIV.5, Ibid., p. 42)

Cyril confuses the appellations even in the Exodus period; Pharaoh oppresses the "noble free-spirited nation" and the Jews were miraculously liberated by Moses (Mystagogical Lecture I.2).

In another emotional argument with the Jews on the passage of Gen. 49:8, "A prince shall not fail out of Judah . . ." he mildly condemns the contemporary Jews, but makes allusions to some immoral aspects of theirs:

For I am ashamed to mention their recent doings who concerning those who are nowadays called "patriarchs" among them [the Jews], and what their recent descent is, and who their mother . . .

(Catechesis XII;17, Ibid., Vol. I, p. 238)

Speaking in general terms, St. Cyril's style is highly emotional, but beyond any comparison to the virulent language used by his contemporaries. His method was to polemicize with the Jews, using the Scriptural passages as a tactical weapon against an adversary. His target was the Jews; his aim was their conversion. His way was soft talk not insults. It would appear that the other bishops were motivated in their actions by quite different objectives.

4. Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 300-367 A.D.) was one of the greatest Church Fathers of the western Church. The difference in the style and language used by the various Fathers is

best illustrated by comparing Hilary with St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in commenting on the same passage. Again, the case is with Isaiah 65:15 (the name of the Jews).⁶³ Hilary says:

These words [of the Prophet] dealing with a future time, are addressed to the carnal Israel which is taunted with the prospect of having to surrender its name to the Chosen of God. What is this name? Israel of course; for to Israel the prophecy was addressed. And now I ask: What is Israel today? The Apostle gives the answer (Rom. II.29): They who are in the spirit not in the letter, they who walk in the Law of Christ are the Israel of God. (On the Trinity, Book V.28, NPNE, 2nd Ser., Vol. IX, p. 93) (emphasis mine)

What links St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril and St. Hilary is the objective to achieve, namely, to expropriate the appellation "Israel", from the Jews declare them a dead body, a carnal Israel without spirit. For the spirit of Israel is manifest now in the Church only. Each of them used different subject matter, ways, methods and style. The final goal was the same.

5. St. Gregory of Nazianzen (ca. 325-391) was a Capadocian and archbishop of Constantinople. He was called the Great, and was very prolific in writing. He contributed his share in placing the Jew next to the demon. Taking to task the heretics and detractors of the Church, he exclaims:

. . . This [saying] did not even [use] the demons, Oh, thou who art less believing, thou demons and more stupid than Jews. . . . It would have been better for you to be either a Jew or a demoniac, than in uncircumcision and

⁶³See note 61.

in sound health to be so wicked and ungodly in your attitude of mind.

(NPNF, 2nd Ser., Vol. VII, p. 350; Oration XXXVIII.XV)

In various references, Gregory of Nazianzen gives honor to the ancient Hebrews:

- a) The Children of the Hebrews do honor to the number seven (as did the Pythagoreans in latter days to the number four).
(Ibid., p. 379, Oration XLI.II)
- b) The Deity cannot be expressed in words. And this is proved to us, not only by argument, but by the wisest and most ancient of the Hebrews, so far as they have given us reason for conjecture.
(Ibid., p. 315. The Fourth Theological Oration, XVIII)

St. Augustine and St. Jerome are the two towering figures in the Church literature at the turn of the fourth-fifth centuries. No works have left a greater impact on the future generations than their monumental works, albeit different in genre and nature. Comparing Augustine to Jerome, the editor of the former's works says: "He [Augustine] was rather a thinker than a scholar. . . ." ⁶⁴ When we deal with the image of the Jews, the subject of Christian thinking and scholarship in that period, we find that Jerome the "scholar" is most emotional and acrimonious towards them, while Augustine seldom passes the border of genuine calm consideration of the facts, and never indulges in passionate eruptions against the

⁶⁴ NPNF, Vol. I, p. 9. Prolegomena, J.P.G. As distinct from Jerome, Augustine knew little Greek and Hebrew he knew not at all. He held to the opinion that the Greek version of the Septuagint is equal in sacred status to the Hebrew Old Testament, and did not appreciate the former's effort to provide a new translation of the Bible in Latin.

Jews as does Jerome. We shall consider first the image of the Jew in St. Augustine's writings, and the appellations he uses.

6. St. Augustine (354-430) was born to a Christian mother and Pagan father in Tagaste Numidia. His conversion took place in Milan in 386 by St. Ambrose. He was the most prolific writer of his age. In the prime of his life he saw the Roman civilization crumble, and Rome devastated by Alaric (412). Although a contemporary of the Fathers who preached hatred against the Jews in all genres of literature, it is hard to find even a trace of hatred in all of his works.

We must, however, admit that in most instances--under the influence of the "principles" of Eusebius--which by now were firmly anchored in the minds of the writers of the period--Augustine makes the distinction between "Hebrews" and "Jews" according to the general principles defined by us earlier,⁶⁵ sometimes, in a contrasting way, even in the very same argument, e.g.:

He [God] gave precepts to the Hebrew nation concerning that day [the Sabbath]. . . .

and the contrast:

. . . such abstinence of work as we now see practiced by the Jews; . . .
(NPNF, Vol. I, Letters XXVI, Ch. III, p. 266)

The usage of "Jews" is not abusive. It is a designation of a religious adherence, Jews versus Christians:

⁶⁵See T(1)-T(6), pp. 17-19; p. 31, *supra*.

But we [Christians] are not commanded to observe the day of the Sabbath literally in resting from bodily labor, as it is observed by the Jews.

(Ibid., Letter LV, Ch. XII), ca. 400 A.D.

Augustine respected opinions of Jews on the Old Testament, even if they differed from Jerome (writing to him in 403, on the translation of Job):

. . . Besides all this [questions Augustine raised earlier in the letter] Jews, if consulted as to the meaning of the Hebrew text, may give a different opinion than yours.
(Ibid., Letter LXXI, Ch. II.4)

On Jerome's allegation (writing in 405) that the Jews have perjured the translations of the Old Testament so as to eliminate all indications of the messiahship of Christ, Augustine did not hesitate to reply that he doubts these theories:

As to your translation, you have now convinced me of the benefits to be secured by your proposal to translate the Scriptures from the original Hebrew, in order that you may bring to light those things which have been either omitted or perverted by the Jews. But I beg you to be so good as to state by what Jews this has been done, whether by those who before the Lord's advent translated the Old Testament--and if so, by what one or more of them--or by the Jews of the later times, who may be supposed to have mutilated or corrupted the Greek Mss., in order to prevent themselves from being unable to answer the evidence given by these, concerning the Christian faith. I cannot find any reason which should have prompted the earlier Jewish translators to such unfaithfulness.

(emphasis mine) (Ibid., Letter LXXXII, Ch. V.34)

In connection with the Septuagint translation, Augustine expands elsewhere, rejecting the wholesale allegations against the Jewish nation:

One must therefore more plausibly maintain that when their labors began to be transcribed in the copy of Ptolemy's library, some such mistakes might find their way into the first copy made, and from it might be dissemi-

nated far and wide. And that this might arise not from fraud, but more from a copyist error.

(underlining mine) (The City of God, Book XV. Ch. 13; NPNF, Vol. II, p. 293)

And he adds:

But Aquila, whom the Jews prefer to other interpretations . . . has translated [by different words]. . . . But both [his and the Septuagint's] are correct.

(Ibid., Ch. XXVI, p. 304)

Augustine is thus the only Church Father who dissociates himself courageously from all others who indulged in "character-killing" of the name Ioudaios as forgers of the Scriptural texts.⁶⁶

In the City of God, Augustine develops his doctrine about the Christian's link to Abraham and the parity of the two promises made by the Divinity to him. The Jews of the Biblical period are called by Augustine both Israel and Hebrews." "The people of Israel believed in Moses." But the concept that the "Hebrews" are the forerunners of the believers in Christ he expresses thus:

. . . especially in the Hebrew nation whose common wealth was, as it were, consecrated to prefigure and foreannounce the City of God, which was to be gathered from all the nations. . . .

(Ibid, p. 203, Book X, Ch. 32)

On the parity of the circumcised and uncircumcised, he says:

. . . because the Church is gathered out of all nations, it is said to have two stories to represent two kinds of men, the circumcision, to wit, and the uncircumcision, or as the Apostle otherwise calls them, Jews and Gentiles.

(Ibid., p. 306, Book XV)

⁶⁶ See note 20.

Augustine develops the doctrine that the Christians are lawful inheritors of the legacy of Abraham, which transcends from the Divine promises made to him (Gen. 13:14-17).

. . . the promise here made may be understood not only of the nation of Israel but to the whole seed of Abraham.

. . .

And what is the seed of Abraham?

. . . Not only that pertaining to the nation of Israel but also that which is and shall be according to the initiation of faith in all nations of the whole wide world.
(Ibid., p. 322, Book XV, 21)

Augustine believes in the lawful rights and sentimental attachment of the Jews to Palestine:

"Unto thy seed will I give this land" (Gen. 12:7). Nothing is promised here about that seed in which he is made the father of all nations but only about that by which he is the father of the one Israelite nation; for by this seed the Land was possessed.

(Ibid., p. 18)

And referring to the unfortunate situation of the Jews in his own days he says:

. . . although the Israelites are expelled from Jerusalem, they still remain in the other cities in the Land of Canaan, and shall remain even to the end.
(emphasis mine) (Ibid., 21, p. 323)

This is the most remarkable statement which is overlooked by scholars analyzing the literature of the Church Fathers. Unabashed by the doctrines of guilt, punishment, and divine decree to disperse the Jews and make them a nation living only in exile, Augustine takes a diametrically opposite view from that of the Church Fathers. He implies that the misfortunes of the Jews are of a temporary nature, that they are not under curse, and deserve the compassion of the Chris-

tians, who share with them the promise to Abraham on equal terms.

It is also noteworthy to remark that in this strongly emotional passage regarding the miserable fate of the Jews in their own land, Augustine calls them not "Jews" (with its negative connotation in his days) but Israelites.⁶⁷

Just as Augustine coined the term 'Israelite' in the sense of the Jew who deserves compassion from Christians, so he also is the first to coin the term 'Hebrew Prophets',⁶⁸ although he uses simultaneously the expressions "Prophets of the Jews" and "Prophets of Israel." As we have noted before, "Jew" is the opposite of Christian, or Gentile, in very objective terms. The term "Hebrew prophets," though, expresses the Church's doctrine, that beginning with Abraham down to the last prophet of the Old Testament, these "Hebrew" messengers of God had a mission to carry to the Jewish people: the announcement of Christ's coming.

It is not an ethnical designation but a theological

⁶⁷See my comment in note 62. There is certainly a difference in the two treatments. Augustine is a thinker, his usage is well motivated. Although St. Chrysostome and others have expropriated the name Israel from the Jewish nation, Augustine is courageous in calling them Israelites. In a sense this may be seen as a reaction to the degradation of the appellation "Jew" and an indication that whenever respectability has to be returned to the image of the Jew, another appellation has to be used. While in the case of Cyril it can be argued that he lived in Jerusalem and he knew the appellations of the contemporary Jews, Augustine's usage is certainly purely a literary one.

⁶⁸See my question in Preface, p. iii

concept of the prophets of Israel, seen by the Church--for whom "Christian" was synonymous with "the Good Hebrew"--as the divine Hebrew pre-Christian Apostles to the Jews. So he says: "The Hebrew Prophets foretold Christ," but . . . "In the same way there are prophets of the Jews, and prophets of the Gentiles."⁶⁹

Augustine objects the Jewish rituals. There is nothing strange about this; he is a Christian theologian. But the style and tone of his lecture is as different from his fellow Church Fathers as white is from black. He does not express hatred of the Jews as a people. He may condemn circumcision as obscene, asking Faustus:

Do you too like a Jew or a Nazarene glory in the obscene distinction of being circumcised? Do you pride yourself in the observance of Sabbath?⁷⁰

Just as the aforequoted passages show that Augustine uses the appellation "Jew" to express only his religious identity and no contempt, so is one of the passages quoted from "A Sermon to Catechumens":⁷¹

The Jews held him; the Jews insulted him; the Jews bound him, they crowned him with thorns, dishonored him by

⁶⁹ NPNF, Vol. IV. Reply to Faustus the Manichaeon. Book XII, 1, 2; XII, 6; 13.1; XIX.2; XIX.4

⁷⁰ Ibid., Book XIX.4. The passage does not aim directly at the Jews but at the Nazarenes, who according to Augustine, practice circumcision, keep the Sabbath, and abstain from swine flesh, and such like things, according to the Law, although they profess to be Christians.

⁷¹ Passage is from NPNF, Vol. III, pp. 373-74.

spitting upon him, they scourged him, they heaped abuse upon him, they hanged him upon a tree, they pierced him with a lance; . . .

We find in this text the common expressions used by the Evangelists in narrating the Passion of Christ. It is true Augustine did not clearly distinguish here between actions of the Jews and those of the Romans, but is he here implying more guilt on the Jews than the Evangelists have?

We may expect from a Christian preacher, in a sermon, certain emotional departures from pure analytical theological phraseology. Augustine does not inflame his listeners with calls to hatred and social excommunication.

In his other preachings Augustine never abuses the contemporary Jew, but on the contrary, by elevating the term of "Israel" and Hebrew to high standards implies the appreciation of the Church for the Jewish people, for their service to Christianity. And so he comments in admiration on

the wonderful fact . . . that this God of the Hebrews . . . is now preached and worshipped among all nations. This is that God of Israel of whom the Prophet spoke to long since. . . . What was thus prophesied had been brought to pass through the name of the Christ, who comes to men in the form of a descendant of that very Israel, who was the grandson of Abraham with whom the very race of Hebrews began.

(*NPNE*, Vol. VI, The Harmony of the Gospels, Ch. XIV. 21, p. 85)

The doctrine that the Scriptural message to the people of Israel found its fulfillment in Christ is expressed also by Augustine, but the form and tone are not through condemnation of the Jews, but through affection for the people of Israel, albeit only in the pre-Christian period.

All the things that were spoken to the ancient people of Israel in the manifold Scripture of the Holy Law. . . . What things soever were spoken and given to them in precept, were shadows of things to come things that find their fulfillment in Christ.

(NPNE, Vol. VII, On the Gospel of St. John, Tractate XXVIII.9, p. 181)

Augustine in his tone was like a voice in the wilderness. The dominant tone of the period was hatred against the Jews, and even the other greatest Father of the period, Jerome, boastingly acknowledges this sentiment.

7. Jerome's hatred for the Jews is bold, blunt and frank. It is a personal conviction which is vigorously disclosed in an intimate letter to a friend.

. . . If it is expedient to hate any men and loath any race, I have a strange dislike to those of circumcision. For up to the present day they persecute our Lord Jesus Christ in the synagogue of Satan.

(NPNE, 2nd Series, Vol. VI. Letter LXXXIV)

Through the propagation of such ideas he undoubtedly contributed to shape the image of the Jews, and make their appellation the symbol of evil and contempt in the fifth century.

Jerome was born ca. 345 in Dalmatia of Christian parents. He studied at Rome. He went on pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and lived for some time in Antiochia. In 386 he settled in Bethlehem and started an intensive study of the Hebrew language, engaging paid Jewish teachers from various localities in Palestime, at different times. When he felt that he already mastered well the Biblical language, he

started out on the gigantic task of translating the Old Testament from the original Hebrew.⁷²

Jerome uses all the three appellations in various circumstances and contexts. We have already seen that when the Jew is to be shown in a negative light he is called "Jew." But this term is used by Jerome also to denote Philo as a "Jew."⁷³ But in the preface to the Books of Samuel and Kings, the people is called both "Hebrews" and Israel.

In his letters to various addressees Jerome reveals his views on the Jews. Inasmuch as an appellation can reflect his view, we note that even a contemporary Jew, when spoken of in neutral terms, is also called by him "Hebrew." And so he writes to his friends Paula and Eustochium in 391 A.D. in connection with his translations of the Bible:

At all events if you are incredulous [regarding Jerome's rendering] read the Greek and Latin manuscript and compare them with these poor efforts of mine and wherever you see they disagree, ask some Hebrew and if he confirm our view, I suppose you will not think him a soothsayer,

⁷²Jerome's work, the Vulgate, is the first authorized Latin version of the Old Testament. Latin versions existed before him, but as translations from the Greek, were considered to contain inaccuracies in renderings and interpretations. Jerome's task was to remedy the situation. The translation was begun in 391 and completed in 419. His reason for undertaking his task is given in Letter LXXV to Augustine, 404 A.D.:

... not to supersede what has been long esteemed, but only to bring prominently forward those things which have been either omitted or tampered with by the Jews, in order that Latin readers might know what is found in the original Hebrew.

⁷³NPNF, 2nd Series, Vol. VI, p. 485; Preface to the Book on Hebrew names.

and suppose that he and I have in rendering the same passage divined alike.⁷⁴

Jerome calls the Jews of Palestine, his contemporaries, also "Hebrews." This appellation relates to his teachers, and one can see in it, of course, an exceptional appraisal of Jerome to a teacher, an expert in the Hebrew language, who is blameless. In his preface to Job, he says:

I paid a not inconsiderable sum for services of a teacher, a native of Lydda who was among the Hebrews reckoned to be in the first rank.

(Ibid., p. 491)

In the Preface to Daniel Jerome tells of his despair thinking he would fail to accomplish his task:

. . . But there was a certain Hebrew who encouraged me and was forever quoting for my benefit the saying that "Persistent labour conquers all things"; and so conscious that among the Hebrews I was only a smatterer, I once more started to study Chaldee. . . . (he goes on to tell his progress.)

(Ibid., p. 493)

It can be noted that Jerome's usage of Hebrew for contemporary Jews is always in the context of knowledge of the Hebrew language. In proximity to the above quotation, Jerome, speaking of the Apocryphal Books appended to the Book of Daniel, says:

I heard a certain Jewish teacher when mocking at the history of Susanna, and saying it was the fiction of some Greek or the other. . .

(underlining mine) (Ibid.)

And to those who blamed him for Jewish influence on his work, Jerome retorts: "Yet, can anyone find fault with

⁷⁴ Ibid., Preface to the Books of Samuel and Kings, p. 490.

me for having had a Jew as a teacher? . . . what trouble and expense it cost me to get Baraninas (the name of his Jewish teacher) to teach me under cover of night. (he follows with an outburst of hatred against the Jewish race in general, quoted above, (p. 52), (Letter LXXXIV).

Jerome in his homilies helped to shape the negative, devilish, face of the Jew at the end of the fourth century. His degree of hatred is no less than that of Chrysostom. Despite his fame as a scholar, his comments on the Jews, made on passages of the Old Testament and New Testament, are very acrimonious, angry and insulting. The Jew is the culprit of crimes committed against the Church, an accused, sitting in judgment before the tribunal of the Church Fathers. In each homily the Jew is angrily accused by the "preacher-prosecutor" --Jerome--with a series of charges. He erupts in anger against the Jew, throwing a charge and urging the Jew to defend himself.

"Answer, O, Jew!" exclaims he frequently against the accused.⁷⁵ This bitter cry is to prove that the guilty Jew has no reply to the adduced accusations from Scripture. Even though some of the insults are still in moderate form, they show the negative face of the Jew. "The Jew hears but does not comprehend [the Gospel]" (Homily 76). Or, in a sharper form:

⁷⁵ F O T C , Vol. 48. Homily 56, p. 405; Homily 57, p. 411, etc. This form of angrily addressing the Jews is common to certain Church Fathers like St. Cyril and St. Basil.

To this very day the Jews see men as they were trees walking about; . . . they see the prophets not as men but as trees, that is irrational, unintelligent creatures.
(Homily 79, F.O.T.C., Vol. 57, p. 157)

Judas Iskariot, the symbol of betrayal of Christ, is the subject of two homilies of Jerome. In one he says emotionally:

To this day the Jews are indignant when we anoint Jews' heads. . . . Judas the betrayer, was indignant, too. In him the Jews are represented.
(Homily 84, Ibid., p. 190)

But in Homily 35 on Psalm 109, Jerome goes a step further in explicitly comparing the Jewish people to the figure of Judas: "Christ is saying: Judas betrayed me, the Jews persecuted and crucified me. . . ." He lists Judas' steps in his betrayal of Jesus, and says: ". . . this is the story of Judas; in general it is that of the Jews." (p. 255) When he resumes his charges, Jerome is furious with the Jews and gives a frightful meaning to their name, a meaning which left its impact on generations of Christians and made the name "Jude," "Jew," "Żyd" synonymous with "Judas," the symbol of perfidy and betrayal in human relations, not to speak of the betrayal of Christ which led to his crucifixion. He asks his listeners:

Whom do you suppose are the sons of Judas? The Jews take their name not from that Judah who was a holy man but from the betrayer. From the former we are spiritual Jews; from the traitor came the carnal Jews. . . . from Judah the son of Jacob we are called Judaeans; from this Iscariot they are called Judaeans. Judah our father is called the son of Jacob, that is the son of the supplanter, for we have supplanted the people of the Jews and have received their birthright. (underlining mine)
(F.O.T.C., Vol. 48, Homily 35, p. 259)

Jerome, the scholar, with one magic stroke annuls the

whole historical documentation of the Old Testament, the Greek historians, and even Christian claims to the continuity of the Hebrew people and its transition from Abraham to Jesus. In order to portray the Jew in his perfidious image, a new name was shaped for the Jewish people to bear hence: that of Judas.⁷⁶ The urge of Jerome to expropriate from the Jews their rights to their ancient heritage and links with their ancestors, is also unusually explicit and definite. The tone is of a definite "confiscation" and usurpation of the Jews' "birth-rights."

Next comes Jerome's curse on the "sons of Judas":

May his children be roaming vagrant and beggars. . . .
From the time of Crucifixion, the Jews are constantly on the move; they have no permanent home of their own. . . .
[Comparing them with Cain's lot] The Jews, too, because they crucified God and their Lord wander to and fro begging their bread. They are not in their own land, but are dispersed throughout the world. . . . They have become beggars in the true sense.
(underlining mine) (Ibid., p. 261)

If we are to present Jerome's theological view on the destiny of the Jews, Homily 35 was a masterpiece of emotional campaign of the Church Fathers; but even more other images have been painted by him of the bad Jew, for the Christian to grasp and remember. He compares the Jews to an unclean animal. Commenting on Leviticus 11:3: "Any animal that is cloven-footed and chews the cud is clean"--

The Jew is single-hoofed and, therefore, is unclean.
. . . Truly does this saying pertain to the divine mys-

⁷⁶A name by which I was called in person by my Catholic fellow children in public school in Poland, in the twentieth century.

teries:... The Jew is single-hoofed for he believes in only one Testament and does not ruminate. The man of the Church however, is cloven-footed and he ruminates. He believes in both Testaments. . . .

(F.O.T.C., Vol. 48, Homily 23, pp. 185-86)

The image of the Jews as stained with the blood of Christ is repeated in many passages:

1) In Letter CXXII, speaking on Pares and Zarah the twins of Tamar and the symbolic meaning of the scarlet thread he says: "While the binding of Zarah's hand with the scarlet thread even then marked the conscience of the Jews with the stain of Christ's blood."⁷⁷

2) In Letter XIV, addressed in 373-4 to a monk Hebrodorus, speaking of the Crucifixion Jerome exclaims: "Jew! behold the hands which you nailed to the Cross!"⁷⁸

3) In Homily on Psalm 101, the theme is extended to all prophets: "The Jews . . . in their zeal to spill blood killed anyone who transgressed the Law. Indeed, not satisfied with the murder of the prophets, they crucified the Lord himself."⁷⁹

His general joy over the misfortunes of the Jews, Jerome expresses in another letter (LX, dated 396 A.D.) to the monk Heliiodorus: "The Jew's mourning is the Christian's joy."⁸⁰

⁷⁷NPNF, 2nd Series, Vol. VI, p. 235; Letter CXIII, commenting on Gen.38:27-30.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 14

⁷⁹F O T C , Vol. 48, p. 215. Homily 28.

⁸⁰NPNF, 2nd Series, Vol. VI, p. 125. Letter LX, 6.

There are in Jerome's works certain comments on Jews which are not tinted by theological zeal or hatred, and are valuable as a testimony on Jewish life in his time. One of these is a comment on the Minim, in a letter to Augustine dated 404 A.D.

In our own days there exists a sect among the Jews throughout all the synagogues of the East, which is called the sect of Minei [מיני] and is even now condemned by the Pharisees. The adherents of this sect are commonly known as Nazarenes; they believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary . . . but while they desire to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither the one nor the other.

(NPNE, Vol. I, p. 338; Letter LXXV)

Jerome expresses his conviction that if the Jews are allowed to join the Church and it will be declared lawful for them

to continue in the Churches of Christ what they have been accustomed to practise in the Synagogues of Satan I will tell you my opinion in the matter: they will not become Christians, but they will make us Jews.
(underlining mine) (Ibid.)

Jerome's ideas on the synagogue are in one class with those of his contemporary Chrysostom. The Synagogue is not a house of prayer but a "domicile of the devil" (see p. 34) and hence the Jews who frequent her are themselves sons of the devil, with whom Christians should have nothing in common.

When Jerome comes to deal with a matter which presents the contemporary Jews in a most positive light, a matter which may serve as an example and model for Christians to follow, the appellation he uses is "Hebrews." In his treatise "Against Vigilantius" he attacks the latter, who was a bishop in Gaul, and opposed sending alms to Jerusalem. Jerome insists

on the continuation of that form of charity, and urges

that money be sent to Jerusalem and to the Holy Places for the faithful; not to gratify avarice, but to give relief; not to accumulate wealth, but to support the weakness of the poor body and to stave off cold and hunger. And this custom continues in Judaea to the present day, not only among us, but also among the Hebrews, so that they who meditate in the Law of the Lord day and night . . . may be cherished by the aid of the synagogues and of the whole world.⁸¹ (emphasis mine)

Jerome's monumental work, the Vulgate, was completed in 419. He died in 420, in the middle of his work on Jeremiah.⁸² He is appraised and remembered for his contribution to the research of the Bible by furnishing testimony on the manuscripts and text available in his lifetime. His anti-Judaic writings are not so well known, but they are in line with most of the Church Fathers' attitude to the Jews. In regard to the appellations, he contributed considerably in denigrating the name Ioudaios to its lowest level.

The last in our list of the Church Fathers who contributed to the trend begun in the fourth century is the outstanding figure of the fifth century, St. Leo.

8. St. Leo the Great (ca. 400-461), an Italian and one of the greatest pontiffs of the early times. He lived in a period of transition. The Roman empire and paganism were

⁸¹Ibid., p. 422, Against Vigilantius, 13. Reference is made here to the contemporary Jewish institution of Apostolate to the Diapora, to contribute financial aid for the Jews in Palestine. See Julian's Letter No. 24 to the Jews. The Treatise was written in 406 A.D.; the Patriarchate continued until 425 A.D. Note that when Jerome praises the Jews they become "Hebrews" and the "Synagogue of Satan" becomes a model to follow by the Church.

⁸²Ibid., p. 495, The Commentaries.

each alike at their last gasp. It fell on him as pope (440-461) to negotiate with Atilla and persuade him (452) not to invade Rome, and similarly in 457 with the Vandals, to ask them to spare the lives of the Romans.

St. Leo's letters and sermons reflect his generation's view on the Jews. If against heresies and schisms he led "a firm campaign," that against the Jews expresses contempt of the highest level, incitement of his flock to hatred and despal of the Jew. The quotations speak for themselves. In his sermon on the Crucifixion, he exclaims:

This morning [of the Cricifixion] O, ye Jews, was for you not the rising but the setting of the sun . . . it turned all your feasts into eternal mourning. For ye resolved on an eternal and bloody counsel, ye "fat bulls," ye "many oxen," ye roaring wild beasts, ye, rabid dogs, to give up to death the author of life and the Lord of Glory.
(Sermon LIV.VI)⁸³

The accusatory exclamation of Leo "O ye Jews" reminds us of Jerome's style in his sermons "Answer O, Jew!"⁸⁴

From what spring of error, from what pool of hatred, O, ye Jews, do you drink such poisonous blasphemies?
(Sermon LV.11)⁸⁵

Finally, commenting on the passage in Matthew: "His blood be on us and on our sons" (27:25), he exclaims:

On you, on you, false Jews and unholy leaders of the people falls the full weight of the crime: and although the enormity of the guilt involves the governor and the soldiers also, yet you are the primary and Chief offend-

⁸³NPNE, 2nd Series, Vol. XII, p. 168. Leo quotes Ps. 22:13, 14, 17 terming the Jews as the mentioned beasts.

⁸⁴See p. 55 above and note 70.

⁸⁵NPNE, op. cit., p. 171.

ers. Christ's condemnation...makes you only the more deserving of the hatred of Mankind... (Sermon LIX. 111)⁸⁶

With regard to the usage of the appellations Hebrew and Israel Leo is not different from his predecessors. Mostly, he uses them only in quoting from the Old and New Testaments in religio-historical contexts.

Conclusions

The Church Fathers Usage of the Appellations.

Leo died in 461. From the beginning of Eusebius' activity to Leo's sermons, for a period of 150 years most of the Church Fathers used the appellations in a selective way which left an imprint on their usage by Christian masses. Their meanings were shaped through making them subject to the Church's doctrine on the role of the ancient Jews in the preparation of the coming of Christ. Each appellation acquired thus a meaning, according to which it was used by the overwhelming majority of the Fathers.

1) Hebraios. Eusebius enounced the doctrine that Abraham [the Hebrew] was the "first Christian in fact".⁸⁷ He saw in the prophets, the Apostles, and the circumcised bishops of the Church in Jerusalem (till Hadrian decreed to banishing all circumcised from the city)-an uninterrupted chain of Hebrews. Hebraios was therefore an appellation of all the gen-

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 178.

⁸⁷ See p. 25 supra.

erations of Jews who preceded Christ, and those who until the advent of Bar-Kokhba have accepted the former's Messiahship.

2) Israel. This appellation was used to designate both the people in Biblical times, and their spiritual heritage as shaped by the "Hebrew" prophets. After the Jews' rejection of Christ, the Church identified itself with "Israel", and rejected the right of the Jews to this appellation. It was therefore cherished as a Christian value.

3) Ioudaios. This appellation was used to designate the Jews who rejected Christ and followed the O.T. and the Rabbi's teachings. As a result of the Church Fathers' bitter campaign to promote the conversion of the stubborn and "blind" unbelievers, acrimonious language was used in their orations, homilies and invectives; the effect of this activity was to debase the image of the Jew as a man, and to present him as the incarnation of perfidy, corruptiveness and all other evils. His appellation Ioudaios became the symbol of those values. By the end of the fifth century it became a term of opprobrium.

The Pagan Sector

Porphyry was the last pagan writer whose pen engaged in attacking Christianity. His references to the Jews were friendly. With the triumph of Christianity in 321 A.D., the pagan world entered into an era the course of which was neces-

sarily downwards.

The outstanding writer of the fourth century, Libanius, does not contribute to the subject of our inquiry. The only writer in this sector who testifies to the status of the three appellations in the Pagan world is the emperor Julian.⁸⁸ In his person, pagan culture made a last ditch effort to contain the unchecked avalanche of Christian ideas conquering the Roman empire. His brief term in power failed to achieve his goal (361-363). In his endeavour to ally the Jews to his cause, the restitution of the practice of sacrifices in the temples--when told that Jewish sacrifices can be practiced only in the temple of Jerusalem--he issued an edict permitting them to reconstruct the Temple. This is the subject of his famous letter "To the nation of the Jews" ("Ἰουλιανὸς Ἰουδαίων τῷ κίνῳ").⁸⁹ In his campaign against the Christians, Julian resorted to writing a treatise entitled Kata Galileon,⁹⁰ in which he tries to prove the unworthiness of the Christian tenets, compared with Greek philosophy and the polytheist cult. Julian shows in this treatise great erudition both in the Old and New Testaments,

⁸⁸ Our references are made to the French collection of his works by Eugene Talbot, Oeuvres Completes de l'Empereur Julien, Paris, 1863

⁸⁹ Letter No. 25 in Talbot's collection; Letter 24 in the Greek-Latin collection in Epistolographi Graeci, ed. Rudolphus Herscher, Amsterdam, 1965.

⁹⁰ In Talbot's work, op. cit.

and he quotes intelligently and precisely from their texts.

His works are therefore a reliable indicator of the status the three appellations of the Jews enjoyed in the pagan sector of the Fourth century society. The general impression is that by the time Julian wrote, the sixties, pagan society accepted the notions that (1) "Hebrew" is usually reserved for the ancient Jews of the Biblical period, (2) Jew-Ioudaios is a designation of religion, the opposite of pagan or Christian. The Pagans, however, did not hold the Jews in contempt for their alleged "crimes" against Christianity. The usage of the appellations in Julian's writings is, therefore, purely documentary or pragmatic, and is devoid of any connotation of criticism whatsoever. In Letter 49 he praises the "Jews who do not have even one beggar" and exhorts the pagans to be charitable and follow the example of the Jews. In Letter 51 to the Alexandrians he praises the ancient Hebrews, blames the Egyptians, and calls the Christians "ces odieux Galileens."

His attack on the Christian doctrines is fully expressed in Kata Galileon. Julian, in engaging in philosophical polemics with the leading Christians of his day, must have taken great pains to study and penetrate the texts of the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Church literature to a great depth. He quotes freely from all sources. He respects the tenets of Judaism, and ridicules the "stories" of the Christians as "children's fables."

Julian agrees with Moses, Jesus and Paul that God has chosen for His people the Hebrews (p. 328).

Sometimes he accords the appellation "Hebrew" to his contemporary Jews. Blaming the Gentiles for having abandoned the pagan ranks and followed Christianity [which followed Judaism], Julian, praising the Gods of the Greeks, asks the Gentiles:

Can the Hebrews boast that God has accorded them similar advantages, to them, for whom you have deserted our ranks [and followed them]? (p. 338.8)

But in proximity, extending the same argument he says:

. . . why have you deserted our ranks and passed to the Jews, why did you show your ingratitude towards our gods?

It would seem that Julian is guided by the following principle in using the appellations:

- 1) The contemporary people called Jews is a religious community.
- 2) The ancient people is called Hebrews.
- 3) The God is the God of the Hebrews; any reference in historical-religious context is necessarily made to Hebrews.

Julian was well aware of the Christian claims to have supplanted Israel. Most of his polemic is based on the writing of St. Cyril. Arguing against the Christians, he challenges their claims:

Since they [the Christians] claim to differ from the contemporary Jews, to be the true Israelites, according to the prophets . . . let us check in what regard are they in accord with them. . . . (p. 344.1)

Julian knew, therefore, the term Israelite, and the dispute of the Church with the Jews on the question who is the true Israel. However, we do not find him using this

term either theoretically or pragmatically. All references to Israel are in quotations from Scripture in which--as pointed out earlier--he shows great erudition.

The failure of Julian's efforts to convince the Christians to return to polytheism and to pagan culture was decisive and it ushered in the period of the final decline of this sector of society.

When in 412 A.D. Alaric sacked Rome, the whole Oikoumene was in grief. Augustine, in Africa, and Jerome in Palestine bewailed it as the greatest tragedy of the human race, and Rome was lamented in the language of Jeremiah in Lamentations. The Pagans, however, had another view on the cause of the inevitable fall of Rome. The decline of Pagan culture and its final collapse to the forces of the Barbarians was attributed to Christianity and the laxity of its morals which led to the softening of the backbone of the Roman individual and imperial structure. But it was not forgotten that this evil came on Rome from the East, from Judaea.

Claudius Rutilius Namatianus, the last pagan poet,⁹¹ writing two years after Alaric's sack of Rome, bursts out angrily against Christianity and its origin--Judaism:

⁹¹ He was a Roman noble who held a high rank in the imperial administration, wealthy, and influential in pagan society.

Ah, I wish Judaea had never been subjugated by the campaigns of Pompey and Titus' authority. Though the pestilence was excised,⁹² its contagion⁹³ is still spreading, and the conquered nation presses hard upon its conquerors.⁹⁴

(De Reddito Sue 47)⁹⁵

The view of the Pagan poet in 414 A.D. is not much different from that expressed by Titus himself in 70 A.D. "Christians originated from among the Jews"--he stated in a war council before the walls of Jerusalem--"If the root will be annihilated the stem will perish as well."⁹⁶ Whether Tacitus genuinely transmits the actual words of Titus or forwards his own opinion in the matter, for 350 years this opinion on the Jews prevailed among the pagans, despite the lenient attitude of the official authorities towards the Jews and their privileges in the empire. The appellation Ioudaios was universally condemned as the root of all evils of society by all its non-Jewish constituents.

⁹² Judea was destroyed.

⁹³ Christianity as a contagion of the malady Judaism.

⁹⁴ Compare Julian's view fifty years earlier. The pagans have still seen Christianity as Judaism in another form.

⁹⁵ Norbert A. Guterman, A Book of Latin Quotations (New York: Doubleday, 1966), p. 386.

⁹⁶ See Chapter Four, p. 166.

The Jewish Sector

The Talmud and Midrash

In Chapter Four we dealt with the appellations of the Jews as reflected in the segment of literature called Mishnah. After the canonization of the Mishnah by Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi , ca. 200 A.D., new generations of scholars called Amoraim continued to develop a vast legal literature, based mainly on the extension of, and commenting on, Mishnaic legislation. This literature, properly named Gemara, combines with the earlier Mishnah into a joint complex, which is known by the name of Talmud. There are two Talmuds distinguished by their geographical provenance, that is to say, the location of their principal academies, Palestine or Babylon. Hence their current designations as the Palestinian (= Yerushalmi) or Babylonian Talmud. There was a transition period in which the last Tannaites and the first Amoraites (beginning of the third century) acted jointly in their first steps in the new literary area.

The Palestinian Talmud was created mainly in the academies of Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Caesaria, had its flourishing period in the third century, and tended towards decline in the fourth century, together with the general decline in the status and situation of the Jewish communities. This trend was no doubt due, in a great measure, to the growing pressure of the Christian Church after its triumphal achievements in the age of Eusebius-Constantine. Unceasing

missionary activity among the Jews, polemics, legal and economic pressure are among the numerous causes which brought about the steady decrease of the Jewish community in Palestine to its small size until it ceased to play an important role. The Jewish Patriarchate, a national traditional institution with a respectable status among Jews and the imperial authorities, was terminated in 425. This date--as if by fatal coincidence--is given as the date of termination of the Palestinian Talmud.

The lot of its literary twin fared on a more fortunate course. The Babylonian Talmud enjoyed a period of flourishing and expansion beyond the date of 425. Although its official termination date is given as the year 500,⁹⁷ literary activity was continued by the Saboraim. The Jews in Babylon were not subject to such aggressive pressure on behalf of the Eastern Christian Church as were their brethren in Palestine and the western Diaspora.

In dealing with the appellations of the Jews in the Jewish sector, we have only two literary sources for review: the two Talmuds and the Midrash. Their literary genre being different, we shall first review their reflection in the Talmud.

⁹⁷ Strack, Int. Tal. Midr., op. cit., p. 133.

The Appellations in the Talmud.

Our analysis is not done separately for each of the two Talmuds. The Babylonian Talmud, although created outside of Palestine, became--for reasons which are outside the scope of our consideration--the main literary legal rabbinical code of Jewish life in the Middle Ages and modern times. As far as we are concerned, the appellations as reflected in the Babylonian Talmud represent the problem as it existed generally in the Oikoumene from ca. 200 A.D. to the end of the period of our examination.

The three appellations appear in the Talmud in various contexts: legislative, episodes, comments. But not unlike the style of the Mishnah, the rabbis were dealing in the Gemmarah with expounding the briefly formulated Mishnaic laws. While the Church Fathers' writings were--as we have shown--in all genres, letters, orations, homilies, treatises, sermons, history, etc., the Talmud is mainly--technically--an exposition of legal literature. The debates circle around a thesis emanating from a given passage in the Mishnah. This character of debate limits automatically the problem of the appellation of the Jews in the period 200-567 A.D. to a check on the differences in the usage between the Mishnah and Talmud--if any.

Consolidation and Preservation.

In the face of the growing onslaught of the Christian Church on the Jews to convert and join the Church, the task of the Rabbis was to consolidate the Jewish community and

preserve its members from defection. The art of living among two societies oriented in different cultic directions, required regulation and codification in a way to create conditions both for harmonious coexistence in a non-friendly milieu and the elimination of contacts leading Jews to embrace an alien cult. This was achieved by following the traditional ways and regulatory legislation of the Tana'im in the Mishnah. (See Chapter Four, pp. 231 ff.)

Most usages of the appellations are, therefore, of the same nature and character as discussed the chapter dealing with the subject in the Mishnah. But the Talmud, besides being an exposition on the laws dealt with in the Mishnah, contains other elements of Jewish life: aphorisms, short episodes, legends, folk tales, quasi-historical records. It is in these elements that we may discern new facts about the status of the appellations in this area of literature.

(1) Hebrew-'Ibri

There is no change from the attitude of the Mishnah. The Talmud does not use this term to designate Jews. If it is found in the course of debates among Amoraim, it is only a repetition of a basic term used in a given Mishnah. This approach is inclusive of the term "Hebrew slave" and similar legislation in which Hebrew was used (Witnesses, etc.).

(2) Israel

Here as well, the same rule applies, that is, following the terminology of the Mishnah with regard to the appellation of the Jew, "Israel," both in his relationship with

his fellow Jews and with members of other communities.

The Talmud's usage of Israel to identify the Jewish man and woman, both in regulatory contexts and in other circumstances, is well evident in its profuse usage and can be taken as an axiom. The individual Gentile is opposed by an Israel[ite]. "That Israel[ite] and a Gentile who were sitting and drinking wine" says Abodah Zarah 70a. And even when in the company of the lowest class, the Talmud still calls the Jew an Israel[ite]. "A Gentile prostitute and an Israel[ite] who was entertained by her and they were drinking wine . . . (Ibid). In legal transactions the language is very clear: "An Israel[ite] who purchased a field from a Gentile, and then another Israel[ite] came and took possession of it . . ." (B.B. 55a).⁹⁸

The same applies to the Jew when his opposite party is a Samaritan (Kuti). "An Israel[ite] may circumcise a Kuti, but a Kuti shall not circumcise an Israel[ite], for he is circumcising for the sake of Mount Gerizim." (Ab. Zarah 27a) This designation is also evident from two other opinions on the Samaritans: (1) R. Simeon b. Gamaliel's: A Kuti is considered equal in all aspects to an Israel[ite], (Shekalim 4a); (2) Any "mitzvah which Kutim were observing,

⁹⁸ Many more examples are found in: Ab. Zarah 60a, 53a; B.H. 71b, 72a, 90a; Yebamoth 122b, Peah 4b, 6a, 31a, 6; Ketubot 72a; Gittin 39a, 47a, b, etc.

they were more strict in its observance than the Israel[ites].
(Berakhot 47b)⁹⁹

When the Talmud deals with Pagans, the Jew is still identified as Israel. "What is the rule when we deal with one pagan ("Akum and nine Israel[ites])? is asked in Sanhedrin 72b. Or: "An Israel[ite] sits besides the flock of a pagan, the pagan milks for him, and gives it to him . . ." (Ab. Zarah 39b).

When the Jew is spoken of in the context of sectarians, heretics, apostates, or converts, the term Israel may express both the collective body of the House of Israel and the individual.¹⁰⁰ But the Talmud designates a Jew by Israel[ite] even when he is spoken of purely as an individual, whether as a legal person or in the context of a narrative. "And what is permitted to one Israel[ite], is permitted to an other Israel[ite] as well," says Beiša 25a; in the same sense are made statements in Sabbath 40a and Eirubin 40a.

The case of designation of the Jewish woman as an Israelith is another proof of the vitality of this appella-

⁹⁹ Ditto, in B.K. 38b; Ber. 53a; Ab. Zarah 36b; Hulin 46; etc.

¹⁰⁰ The convert is called Ger. (Eirubin 71a). The Apostate is called Poshe'a Israel (seceding from the people of Israel). A passage in Sotah 14a expresses the hope that they will repent and return to their original faith and people. The Minim are blamed for diffusing and causing hatred between [the people of] Israel and their Father in Heaven (Jer. (Sabbath 116a). More examples are provided by: Yebamoth 47b, Eirubin 69a, Rosh Hashanah 17a, etc.

tion in Jewish life in the Talmudic period. In a reference to the status of a child born to a Jew from a Gentile woman, the Talmud says: "Your son born from an Israelith is called 'your son,' but your son born from a Gentile [woman] is not called 'your son' but 'her son.'" Yebamoth 17a) In another example we have an identification of Israelith with Jewish nationality and not religion. ". . . not one Egyptian [woman] and one Israelith [woman], but we require two women from one nation . . ." (Kidushin 68a).¹⁰¹ Even the Jewish harlot is honored by the appellation Israelith in five passages, where she is contrasted with Gentiles and Samaritans. (Ab. Zarah 6a, 63a; Bekhoroth 56b; Temurah 29b).

All the above examples demonstrate the vitality of the appellation "Israel" for men and women, both in legal and pragmatic areas of life in the Talmudic period.

Another area of usage of the appellation of "Israel" both in its masculine and feminine forms, is that used for designation of the civil status within the synagogue's cultic differentiations, viz., a Cohen, Levite and Israelite. "All are obligated to [hear] the blowing of the Shofar: Cohanim, Levites and Israel[ites]" (Rosh Hashanah 29a). "A Cohenet [women of this class], Levitess, or Israelitess (=Israelith) who married a Cohen, her "offer" (cult sacrifice) should

¹⁰¹ More examples in Niddah 33b, 43b.

not be eaten, because . . ." (Sotah 23a).¹⁰²

Cases where the appellation Israel[ite] is contrasted with other nationalities is very rare. When found in the Talmud, it is not used in context of contemporary nationalities (e.g., Romans, or Greeks), but defunct nations. So is it spoken of a case where there are "nine Israel[ites] and one Canaanite" (B.K. 44b).

The concept of Israel as a universal corpus, extra-territorial and devoid of nationalism, is promoted in the Talmudic literature by aphorisms and statements which became proverbial. Here are some of them:

- (a) He who maintains one soul in Israel as if he would maintain the whole world. (B.B. 11a)
- (b) When Israel does what God-wills, their work is performed by others . . . (Berakhot 35b)
- (c) Even the poor in Israel are seen as if they were free men. (B.K. 91a)
- (d) The Holy, blessed be He, gave to Israel three good gifts; all of them were given through great suffering. (Berakhot 5a)

(3) Jews--Yehudi--Yehudai

The circumstances in which the Talmud uses these appellations, in its Hebrew or Aramaic forms, can be reduced to the following cases:

- (a) Reports on historical events, affecting the religious life of Jews.
- (b) Popular traditions on dialogues between foreign military chiefs and Jewish dignitaries, or similar

¹⁰² More examples in Ibamoth 45a, 68b; Pesahim 104a, Sukkah 55a; Meg. 23b, etc.

cases. The term is used either by the alien or by the narrator reporting to him on Jews.

- (c) Reports by a Jewish narrator of an episode in which an ill-intentioned alien (goy-nokhri) towards Jews, expresses anti-Jewish sentiments.
- (d) Certain debates in the Gemara the subject of which are regulations on relations between Jews and aliens. This,--even when in the same context, the Jew was designated in the Mishnah as "Israel."
- (e) Certain aphorisms.
- (f) Babylonian Jewish internal relations.
- (g) Jews hiding their identity.
- (h) Legends of symbolic meaning.

Illustrations of Usage of "Yehudi"

The list of passages attesting to the validity of above postulates is inexhaustive. A few examples will suffice to prove the point in case.

Case (a) Reports on historical events.

The typical example is the usage in Megillat Ta'anit.

"On the 28th thereof good tiding came to the Judaeans . . ."

(יְהוּדָאִי)

(Ta'anit 18a)¹⁰³

Case (b) Popular traditions on dialogues.

- (1) "Once the Rabbis wished to send a present to the Emperor and they deliberated through whom they should send it. . . ." (The emperor received the package . . . it was unpacked . . . and found filled with dust.) The emperor, insulted, said: the Jews [Yehudaei] are mocking me. . . .

(Ta'anit 21a)

- (11) The tradition concerning Hadrian and the revolt of

¹⁰³See Chapter Three, p. 158 and comment thereto.

the Jews tells of the cause of the destruction of Tour Malka in the region of Jerusalem. The narrator relates about the informers who "went and said to Caesar": "The Jews (יהודאי) are revolting against you." "Said he" [Hadrian to himself] "The Jews (יהודאי) are mocking me. . . ." (Gittin 56a)

Case (c) Report by Jewish narrators.

The case is told of an Israel[ite] and an alien (a gentile] who were going their way. a gentile passed them and said: "I pity the Jew [Yehudi] who was with me, died on his way and I buried him." (Yeb. 122a). This short tale is illustrative of the "external" and "internal" usage by the narrator; for the former he uses Israel[ite], for the latter "Jew."

Case (d) Relations between Jews and aliens.

(i) A religious dictum concerning the clearing out of "hametz" on the eve of Passover. The subject is a hidden cavity on the border of the properties between a Jew and a non-Jew:

. . . [in the case of] a cavity located between a Jew [Yehudi] and an Aramean (=Gentile) he ought to search as far as his hand can reach. (Pesachim 8b)

- (ii) A Jewess may deliver the baby of a Pagan woman for a fee, but not gratuitously. (Ab. Zarah 26a)

Case (e) Aphorisms.

- (i) Any Jew who has no wife, is dwelling without joy, without blessing, and without goodness in his life. (Ibamot 62b)
- (ii) Poverty fits a Jew as a red line for a white horse. (Hagigah 9b)

Case (f) Babylonian Internal Jewish Relations.

. . . Said he [the informer]: There is one man among the

Jews [Yehudaei] who performs judgment without License from the Royal authority.

(Berakhot 58a)

Case (g) Jews hiding their identity.

Illustrative of this situation is the following passage in a story on R. Beroka, a jailer, a Jewish woman and Gentiles. R. Beroka asks the jailer:

"Why do you wear black shoes?" "Because I mourn for Jerusalem." "And why did you not put fringes on your garment?" "In order that the people should not recognize me as a Jew (יהודי)." (Ta'anit 22a)

As in the case (c) above, the narrator shows his dualistic usage of Israel and Yehudi. The Jewish girl is called Bath-Israel, the "Jew", Yehudaa (יהודא).

Case (h) Legends of symbolic meaning.

"On the day when the Temple was destroyed, the Redeemer was born. . . ." There is a story about a man who was ploughing his field and his cow was bleating. An Arab passed by and heard her voice. Said he [to the man]: "Who are you?" He answered him: "I am a Jew." Said the Arab to him: "Jew, Jew! Untie your cow and your plough!" [Said the Jew]: "Why?" He answered: "For the Temple of the Jews has been destroyed." Asked [the Jew]: "How do you know?" He [the Arab] answered: "From the bleating of your cow." In the meantime, the cow bleated a second time. Said the Arab [to the Jew]: "Jew, Jew, harness your cow and harness your plough, for the Redeemer of Israel was born. . . ."

(Berakhot, 2, Jerushalmi)

It is noteworthy that the Jewish narrator speaks of

the Jew in the story as "a man" (אִישׁ) ; the man identifies himself before the Arab as "a Jew" (external usage-no other way possible!); the Arab, naturally, addresses him "Jew!" But when the narrator has reached the point of drawing the moral of the story, which relates to his people, the appellation used is "Israel".

The Three Appellations in the Midrash

Midrash is the term for those literary works which contain interpretation of passages and themes from Scripture both of "halakic" and "haggadic" nature. The origin of the Midrash goes back to the pre-Tannaitic times; however, the most ancient collected and edited works begin only with the school of Rabbi Akiba and R. Ishmael. The Midrashim, on which there is predominant agreement among scholars to have been edited in our period, are: Sifre, Sifra, Mekhilta de R. Simeon Bar Yohai; Mekhita de R. Ishmael; Genesis Rabba, Leviticus Rabba; Lamentation Rabbathi.¹⁰⁴ But some Aggadoth from Pesikta de Rab Kahana and Tanhuma, which contribute to the elucidation of our problem, have been considered by us, despite their later age;¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ The dates of these works are only indicated by the century. For the problem of dating see Strack Intr. Tal. and Mid., op. cit., pp. 206-07, 217-19.

¹⁰⁵ In the opinion of most scholars, these two works are partly based on the early Midrashim, and therefore it is a fair assumption that they reflect conditions of life in the earlier centuries.

It will be seen that the appellation Israel is pre-dominant among the three; in fact, "Israel" is the cardinal subject and theme of the "Haggadic" Midrashim. This is quite interesting, if seen within the framework of the ongoing struggle --since the time of Origen in the early third century, until St. Leo of Rome in the fifth century--between the Church and the Synagogue. In the face of continuous polemics and attacks against Judaism, denunciation of its values, and expropriation of the name Israel from the Jewish people, the Rabbis had to wage a campaign of resistance to the Church, repulse her attacks, reject her doctrines, and restore the confidence in the fate of the Jewish people. In other words, a campaign of consolidation, fortification, and defense of Judaism. One of the tools for achieving that goal was the Midrashim, both in the expository and homiletical form. Lunz,¹⁰⁶ appraising the function of the Midrash in the life of the Jews in that period, says that the Haggadah "approves itself to be on the one side as glorification of God and on the other as consolidation for Israel." The contents of the Haggadah are made up of maxims of morality, appeals to national coherence, evidence of religious truths, descriptions of Israel's greatness in the past, scenes and legends from Jewish history, praises of the Holy Land, inculcation of the belief that persecution of Jews is only of a transitory nature in various periods of Israel's history, that just

¹⁰⁶Quoted in Strack, op. cit., p. 202.

retribution for the malfeats of the "nations of the world" against Israel will be meted out by the Divinity--in short--Israel is not forsaken by God, Israel continues to be the Beloved child, and is under His protection.¹⁰⁷ This theme meant consolation of Israel in her distress, and creation of a dike to contain the flood of the Church's propaganda against the Jews.

The basic tenet expressed in the Midrashim is that there exists a three-way indestructible relationship between God--His people Israel--and the Torah. In the course of exposition "Israel" is the appellation of the people. The Midrash never indulges in blaming or abusing the Christian doctrines in respect of the Jews; however, the defense of Judaism is one of its themes. Certain passages of Scripture, which the Church Fathers selected as a weapon to attack Judaism,¹⁰⁸ are interpreted in conformity with Jewish beliefs, but never in the hostile tone which characterizes the homilies of the Church Fathers. Indeed, as a matter of fact, the Jews were on the defensive, and their only aim was survival as a religion and as a people. The banner under which this campaign was conducted bore the name "Israel". At a time when the appellation Ioudaios acquired--as a result of the propaganda of

¹⁰⁷ This theme is not new in Jewish history. In the distressing situation of the Jews in Alexandria in 36 A.D., Philo expressed the same fundamental beliefs. See Flaccus 170, 191; Ad Gaium 3-4.

¹⁰⁸ E.g., comment on Gen. 49:10, "The scepter shall not depart from Judah. . . ." in Gen. Rabba. Parasha 97, and similar passages. x

the Church Fathers--the connotation of contempt in its most acute form, the Jew in his community and in the Synagogue could enjoy a feeling of restoration of national dignity by the usage and reference to Israel among his own brethren. Hence stems the unusually affectionate tone and sentiments attached to the name Israel in the Midrash.

The confrontation between Israel and the "nations of the world" (Oikoumene--Oumoth ha-Olam) is expressed mostly in a series of commentaries and expositions in which Israel's accusation of the nations before the Divine Judge of the world is brought forward; the conclusion of the homilist in each case points to the verdict Israel is expecting. Characteristic of such expectations is a Midrash on a passage in Daniel 8:14,¹⁰⁹ in which the homilist dwells on the day of reckoning for the nations of the world. "On that day, justice will only be achieved, when the morning of the nations will become [sad and dark as . . .] the night, and on the contrary, when the dark lot of Israel [compared to the night] will become bright and shining as the morning." With this hope Israel endured and survived. The contemptuous appellation Ioudaios was for them a fact of life which they could do nothing to change; it was a condition imposed by external factors. They ignored it in their own literature both in Talmud and Midrash.

¹⁰⁹ Gen. Rabba, Parasha 21, Edition of Theodor, p. 146.

Yehudi or Yehudai in Midrashic Literature

Usage of these terms is made mainly in the cases similar to (b)(c)(g) classified for the Talmud (see pp. 75, 76). Again we shall quote some Aggadot revealing their context, the circumstances, and the agent of usage.

Case (b) Tradition on dialogues held between Jews and Aliens.

A Jew happened to pass in front of Hadrian, and he greeted him. Said he [Hadrian] to him [the Jew]: Who are you? He answered: A Jew. Said he [Hadrian]: Is there a Jew who [dares] passing Hadrian to greet him? Said he [to his men]: Go and behead him [the Jew]! Another Jew passed and he saw what was done to his predecessor, and he did not greet Hadrian. Said to him Hadrian: Who are you? He answered: I am a Jew. Said he [Hadrian]: Is there a Jew who dares to pass Hadrian and fail to greet him? Said he [to his men]: Go and behead him [the Jew]!

(Lamentation Rabbati, 3)

Case (c) Episodes in which aliens are ill-intentioned towards Jews.

This is illustrated by a story in which calumniators of the Jews incite Trajan to oppress the Jews:

The wife of Trajan--may his bones be crushed--gave birth to a child in the night of the Ninth of Ab (commemorating the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple), and the Jews were in mourning. . . . they [the informers] went and reported it to Trajan's wife. They said: Those Jews ("Ha-Yehudim halalu") when a son was born to you they were mourning, and when the baby died they lighted candles [in celebration]. She sent a message to her husband: Before you embark on a conquest campaign against barbarians, go

and conquer those Jews ("ha-Yehudim
halalu") who have rebelled against
you!

(Lamentation Rabbati)

Case (g) The typical episode is that related about two prostitutes in Ashkelon (see p. 11 above). A later Midrash, Conticum Rabba (2), in a short comment on verse 6:11, is very poignant. The commentator says:

Just as the nut cannot be undetected at the customs (inspection) for it is both audible and visible, so are Israel[ites].--anywhere one of them goes he cannot say he is not a Jew (Yehudi). Why? Because he is recognizable. And this is what is written: All who see them recognize them, for they are the seed which God blessed (Isa. 61:9).

(Conticum Rabba (2))

The dualistic usage of Israel and Yehudi is self-explanatory. The conditions are well fitting our period of investigation.

"Hebrew" in Midrashic Literature

A thorough examination of the Midrashic literature of the period confirms the position found in the Talmud: there is no usage of "Hebrew" designating the Jew as a nation. Although a few stories here and there point to a casual usage by a writer or narrator, it does not prove that Jews in the

early post 70 A.D. period felt a particular affinity for this term when expressing their identity.

A number of sayings, comments and episodes in various Midrashim illustrate in what circumstances the usage "Hebrew" was made in their age.

1) The first comment deals with Abraham. In a comment on Gen. 14:13, Rabbi Jehuda says: כָּל הָעוֹלָם כּוֹלֵוּ מֵעֵבֶר . (All mankind were on the one side and he on the other side.) This gives testimony to the Rabbis' opinion that עִבְרִי, is just a symbol of Abraham's crossing, spiritually, a certain demarcation line breaking with the idolatrous practices and beliefs of the nations of the whole world, by which the era of the Jewish people starts, and that his appellation 'Ibri' is not related to Eber.

2) The other deals with Moses, another "Hebrew" ancestor. Commenting on Jethro's daughters' statement (Ex. 2:19) . . . וַתֹּאמְרנה אִישׁ מִצְרִי הִצִּילנוּ, "and they said an Egyptian man has rescued us," the commentator (Lev. Rabba, Parasha A) says: "Was then Moses an Egyptian? It is that his dress was Egyptian, but he was Hebrew." As a comment relating to the pre-Exodus period, this opinion is not contradictory to our postulate in analyzing the Biblical literature in Chapter One.

3) A very nice episode is related about R. Johanan ben Zakkai, the witness to Jerusalem's destruction, and the founder of post-destruction Judaism. The usage of the term "Hebrew" in this episode is very problematic. An analysis

has to take into account whether this usage can genuinely be dated in R. Johanan's lifetime, or is it a later tradition? The problem pivots around the term "riva," used to describe the quality of the young maiden, and her description as a "Hebrew" woman.¹¹⁰

That לִיבָּה means an aristocratic damsel is beyond any doubt. Abot D'R. Natan 17 has a story of "א לִיבָּה who was taken into captivity together with her ten maid-servants, and was kept by her captor in his estate. In a similar story on the same subject, but without mentioning the לִיבָּה being "Hebrew," she identifies herself as being the daughter of the famous Jerusalem super-rich man of the war period, Nakdimon Ben-Gurion (Ab. d'R. Natan 37, Ket. 65-66). The probable usage of R. J. Ben Zakkai's disciples to identify before him the unfortunate, destitute, Jerusalemite, aristocratic woman as "Hebrew"--in the pen of the Mekhilta writer--can be explained in three ways:

(a) The author's own usage, as a later custom to distinguish between an individual Jewish person when confronted with a non-Jew--in this case an Arab rider.

(b) The tradition on the disciple's reply has been transmitted faithfully, and the term "ibrit" originates from their mouths, as used in the 70's-90's of the first century. This would point to a period in the history of the

¹¹⁰ Mekhilta de R. Ishmael on Jethro, ed. Horovitz-Rabin, Wahrmans Books, Jerusalem: 1970, pp. 203-4.

Jews when, after Judaea ceased to exist as a semi-autonomous state, this term penetrated into life temporarily.

We have shown earlier in our studies that Ioudaios was mainly used by non-Jews to designate the people of Judaea, or of Judaeian origin, settled anywhere in Palestine (Galilee, Decapolis, Samaria). On the other hand, men like R. J. Ben Zakkai and his disciples used in internal relations and in literature the term Israel only. This strange exceptional use of עברית in the related episode does not change the basic facts, and must be seen as an exception.

(c) But it is also possible to analyze the appellation precisely in the context of the terms עבד טב, אמה עברית, and אמה כנענית. The function the aristocratic maiden was performing at the moment R. Johanan noticed her--collecting manure--was usually a dishonorable duty which would in normal circumstances have been assigned to a maid-servant (an "amah"--אמה). Such an "amah" could have been "ibrit" or "canaanite," in accordance with the appellation used by the Jews for slaves.

When R. Johanan was given the reply that this aristocratic destitute was now performing such functions which are usually those of a canaanite amah, he indeed drew the moral conclusions of the episode by equating the lot of Israel to the misfortunes of the maiden. The beautiful woman in Song of Songs 1:8 is allegorically considered by the Rabbis to be Knesset Israel, (Community of Israel). This analysis would prove that we have before us a feminine variant of the legalistic term

לעזר עברי and no other implication of usage of Hebrew in daily life.

4) "Hebrew" was sometimes used by Midrashic authors to designate a man of Jewish origin involved in an incident with non-Jews. This is evident from another story (Pesikta D'R. Kahana 18).

On a ship which sailed in the Mediterranean and whose crew was all non-Jewish (nokhrim), there was a sole "Hebrew young man" (naar ibri). As in the case of Jonah, the ship is in great trouble. It is evident here as well, that the purpose of the usage of the term ibri is to make the case similar to that of the Jonah incident,¹¹¹ in order that the narrator could draw a similar moral lesson. The date of authorship cannot be ascertained.

It is noteworthy to stress that in a similar story where the setting is the same but the subject and motives of the narratives differ,¹¹² the passenger is called תינוק אחד יהודי, a Jewish youngster. It would then be incorrect to discover a return to the usage of the term "Hebrew." It is rather indicative of the characteristic tendency of the sages to use in their comments well-known formulas, definitions, and idioms, which had a long standing in Biblical Literature. The usage of such a term makes the drawing of the moral from the episode a much easier task.

¹¹¹ For לעזר עברי see Gen. 41:12; For Jonah, see Jonah 1:9

¹¹² Tal. Jer. B.B. 89.5.1.

5) We have next a long story of the period of Rabbi Hiya's life (second half of second century). In it ¹¹³ are involved a Palestinian Jew, apparently a disciple of Rabbi Hiya, on the one hand, and an overseas harlot on the other hand. The latter, being surprised at her inability to reverse her customer's sudden abstention from sinning with her, out of his faithfulness to the precepts of the Jewish Law, abandons her profession, travels to Palestine, and stands before Rabbi Hiya, claiming: "Rabbi, convert me into a 'Hebrew.'" The prostitute, as a resident of the great Roman metropolis, surely knew that her customer was universally called Ioudaios. Her usage of "Hebrew" shows that her interest lay not in change of national belonging. Rather, she admired the values demonstrated to her by the behavior of that strange Jewish customer and his faith. This faith was known in Rome to be that of the Hebrews, and she asks to become one of them. As the story goes, Rabbi Hiya fulfilled her wish, and as a result she legally married her Jewish customer. In a certain sense this testifies to the fact that at the end of the second century A.D. all classes of the population of Rome had an idea of the particular religion of the "Hebrews."

6) That Roman pagans were familiar with the concept

¹¹³ T.B., Menahot 44; Sifre on Beshalah. Some versions have instead of "ibrit," "giyoreth." Our discussion refers to the version in which "ibrith" is used. The story is very consistent with other sources, indicating a popular diffusion of the term "Hebrew" in Rome at the turn of the second century.

of the Jewish Law originating with the Hebrews is demonstrated from another episode involving two famous men: Rabbi Akiba and Tineus Rufus.¹¹⁴ The two aggadot are almost similar in their content. In a spiritualistic contact of the pagan with his father--in both cases--the living son exclaims in shock: "Father, after you have died you became a Sabbath observing Jew (Yehudai)?" This term was used by pagans to identify the contemporary Jew. But the version of a similar episode, as transmitted in the Tanhuma,¹¹⁵ has in the dialogue between R. Akiba and the Roman ruler of Judaea (ca. 120-130 A.D.) the following exchange of statements:

- Rabbi Akiba: "The King of Kings wants Israel to observe the Sabbath."
 - The Pagan: "Then why does He work on that day?"
 - R. Akiba: "And what kind of work does He do (according to you)?"
 - The Pagan: "Exactly the same actions that He performs on weekdays, He performs on Sabbath: He blows winds, raises the clouds, makes rainfall, makes the sun and moon shine, fertilizes the fruit, etc."
 - R. Akiba: I know very well that you are well versed in the Laws of the Hebrews. . . . (ironical retorting)
- R. Akiba then proceeds to explain to the Pagan some of the restrictive laws relative to the Jews' observance of

¹¹⁴ Gen. Rabba, Parashah 11, op. cit., p. 92.

¹¹⁵ Midrash Tanhuma (33) on Parasha Ki-Tissa, pp. 125-

the Sabbath. That the Roman pagans in the higher classes and the circles of writers knew of the "mystic volume of Moses" (Juvenalis Sat. XIV.96) or about the reverence of the Sabbath (ibid.) is well evident from the works of famous pagan writers as Tacitus (Hist., V.5) and Ovidius: "Culto Palestine Septimo Festo Syro. . . ." (Arts Amatoria). The term "Hebrews" was put by the narrator in the mouth of R. Akiba in order to express the sage's irony on the inaccurate conceptions of the Pagan with regard to the "mystic" Law of the Jews.¹¹⁶ They knew that it derives from Lawgivers who were called "Hebrews." Nothing implies that they called the Jews "Hebrews."

7) An identification of "Hebrew"--עברי as a Jew "Ben-Israel," is made in Mekhilta de. R. Ishmael (to Ex. 21:2). In an analogy of עבד עברי, to "your Hebrew brother in Deut. 15:12, מה להלן בן ישראל הקטן: אחיך העברי, the author says: Just as there the text מִדּוֹבָה, אֵף כֵּאֵן בֶּן יִשְׂרָאֵל הַקָּטָן מִדּוֹבָה means a Jew, here as well a Jew is meant."

The full text of this Midrash, however, deserves special treatment for its implications in the usage of the term "Hebrew slave." This was done in Excursus II, p. 110.

The Concept of Israel as Expressed in the Literature of Nine Centuries

The belief that Jews had a special status with God is

¹¹⁶

The mystic of the Law and the Hebrew rites was discussed by Plutarch a century before. See Reinach, Textes, #152.

expressed not only by Philo in the first century A.D., but even earlier, at the turn of the second century B.C. by Ben-Sirah. Far from being influenced by Hellenism, Ben-Sirah transmits the genuine collective sentiment of the people in Judaea when he states: "For each nation he appointed a prince, and the portion of the Lord is Israel" (Ecclesiasticus, 17:17).

The name Israel passes like a red thread in the history of the Jews from the period of the Judges down to Bar Kokhba.¹¹⁷ After the failure of the last revolt in 132-36 A.D., the prospect of a restoration of the ancient splendor was far removed from reality. The memory of the external splendor of the monarchy grew less and less vivid. For just a few decades, under the Hasmoneans¹¹⁸ there was a national independence in a commonwealth small and insignificant politically in the Roman world.

When in 70 A.D. Jerusalem and its temple were destroyed, the spiritual heritage of the people, the Law with its subsidiary institutions binding together the whole House of Israel, was the only basis on which to rebuild the nation's spirit. In this direction R. Johanan b. Zakkai and his companions proceeded. They were bent on an effort to instill in the minds of the people that, the national state having been

¹¹⁷ Bar Kokhba called himself Nasi of Israel on coins struck by him.

¹¹⁸ From Simon the Hasmonean, 141 B.C. to 63 B.C., Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem.

destroyed, only the external shell of Israel has been dropped, but its essence remained. It can and will be revitalized to form a new Israel based not on the temple ceremonials but on the old heritage, which binds together the two constituents of the people: those in the Homeland and those in the Dispersion. Just as Pericles in his time could say "Athens is the school of Hellas," R. Johanan could express the idea both in its negative and positive aspects: Jerusalem is not the school of Israel; the Torah and the Traditions are the school of Israel. Upon the latter two elements he started to rebuild the House of Israel. In practical terms it meant saying to the people: Gone is the national state Judaea, and with it the appellation Ioudaios-Yehudi, but Israel lived and will go on. A fraternity grew up now between the two sectors of the House of Israel. Equal status was given by the Rabbis to Jews living in the Diaspora. They declared: God has done an act of loving kindness by dispersing Israel among the nations (Pes. 87:2). This is an expression of a new concept: the House of Israel, with its two equal partners now supplanted the defunct Judaeian state.

In the latter centuries, the communities of the House of Israel faced a campaign of pressure on behalf of the Church, aimed at achieving their dissolution and disintegration, and their incorporation in the Church. The bonds that united the Jews among themselves and to their traditions were, however, strong enough to withstand the Church's drives. What was the spirit that imbued the Jews and made their sur-

vival in a hostile surrounding possible? Those were the well formulated concepts on the essence of Israel, her favor with God, her unquestionable hope in a better future. Such concepts were repeatedly professed by passages from the Bible, prayers, slogans in many forms, some of them repeated daily in prayers three times a day, or popularized otherwise by preaching and study of the Bible and the Rabbinic literature, generation after generation, under changing circumstances in her history. A cross section of such passages on various themes of life, unequivocally demonstrates how such a powerful identification with and attachment to the term "Israel" has been built up.

A. Exhortation, Adoration, Israel-God's Portion

1. Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is one. (Deut. 6:4)
2. Happy art thou, O Israel, who is like unto thee? (Deut. 33:29)
3. You are One and Your Name is One, and who is like Thy people Israel a nation one on the earth (Sabbath Prayer; II Sam. 9:23)
4. And Thou didst establish to Thyself Thy people Israel to be a people unto Thee forever; and Thou Lord becamest their God. (II Sam. 9:24)
5. King David identifies God of Israel with Rock of Israel: "The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spoke to me. . . . (2 Sam. 22:3)

6. For each nation he appointed a prince, and the portion of the Lord is Israel. (Ecclesiastics 17:17)

B. Prayers, Praise, Thanksgiving

1. O, Rock of Israel, arise up in help to Israel, and redeem Judah and Israel. (Proem to the Eighteen Benedictions)

2. O Lord of the Universe, redeem, save and rescue Your people Israel from . . . (Ketubot 8b)

3. Hearken to the cry of thy people Israel, and fulfill swiftly their prayer. (Sanhedrin 29b)

4. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who bestows loving kindness on his people Israel. (Berakhot 6b)

5. Even an iron curtain cannot separate Israel from their Father in Heaven. (Pesahim 85b)

6. God does not smite Israel unless He prepares a cure [to the calamity] beforehand. (Meggilah 13b)

7. Calamity comes upon the world only because of Israel [its suffering]. (Haggigah 63a)

8. Happy art thou O Israel; as long as you act in accordance with God's will, no nation and no tongue can dominate them. (Ketubot 66b).

C. Solidarity, Common Lot, Good Will

1. He who saves one soul in Israel [is considered] as if he had helped maintain the whole Universe.
(Sanh. 37a)

2. It is a duty to support the poor among the Gentiles together with the poor of Israel. (Gittin 61a)

3. All Israel[ites] are associates. כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל חֲבֵרִים.
(Jer. Hagigah, 3:6)¹¹⁹

4. All Israel[ites] have a share in the World to come. (Sanhedrin 10:1).

The Targums

By the term Targum are known two translations of sections from the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic designated as 1) Targum Onkelos and 2) Targum Jonathan (b. Uzziel).¹²⁰ They originated in two different periods. The former is a translation of the Pentateuch attributed by the Talmuds and Midrashim interchangeably to Onkelos and Aquila, a contemporary of R. Akiba. It may, therefore, be assumed to be a creation of the early decades of the second century A.D. Its translation was so excellent and it was regarded so authoritative that it was enjoined to be read jointly with the Hebrew text ("twice Scripture and once Targum"). The other is a translation of the Prophets, is less authoritative, and in some of its comments departs from strict translation, and uses paraphrase and Midrashic style. Some of its elements attest to its late composition, e.g. the reference in our present edition to the names of a wife and daughter of Mohammed (on Gen. 21:21), and give weight to the opinion of scholars that it was com-

¹¹⁹ In 19th century became motto of "Alliance Israelite Universelle".

¹²⁰ On Onkelos and Aquila see Encyc. Jud. Vol. 12, p. 1406, and on Jonathan b. Uzziel *ibid*, Vol. 10, p. 188.

posed over a period stretching beyond the seventh century. Our review is, therefore, limited only the treatment of the appellations by Onkelos.

Onkelos' approach is different for each of the two main books containing the appellation ibri, Genesis and Exodus. In the former it is translated in all cases (Gen. 14:13, 40:15, 41:12) as עִבְרִיָּא which, if compared to similar forms designating Biblical tribes, e.g., the Amalekites, the Canaanites (עַמְלֵקִיָּא Num. 24:20), (כְּנַעֲנִיָּא Num. 20:1), expresses a tribal gentilic appellation. This approach is absolutely changed in the Book of Exodus. The period is the beginning of the formation of the new nation. But Onkelos expresses this process, through the rendering of all passages containing the term ibri--ibrioth--ibrim by the rendering of יְהוּדָאִי , in its corresponding form, number and gender. Ibrim become יְהוּדָאִי (Ex. 2:19), and the "Hebrew women" are called יְהוּדִיָּא , as opposed to the Egyptian--מִצְרִיָּא , and this is a general rule, without a single exception.

We have seen that the usage of Yehudi starts only in Jeremiah's time.¹²¹ Onkelos' usage has therefore definitely to do with "real-politik". The confrontation between the Egyptians and the ancestors of the living Yehudain , seemed to him worthy to equate it with the situation in his day--the Yehudain's struggle with the contemporary oppressors,

¹²¹ See Vol. I. Chapt. I. p. 60.

the Romans. There is no other explanations possible; the appellation Israel is, in contradistinction, never changed by him.

"Israel" is presented in its two forms, exactly as in the Hebrew text: Israel the people, and the congregation of the tribes Benei-Israel. A "Man of Israel" (in its singular form אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל) is rendered in Aramaic בֶּר יִשְׂרָאֵל but the Israel[ith] woman אִשָּׁה יִשְׂרָאֵלִית, is called, as in Mishnaic Hebrew בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל.¹²²

A passage from the Hebrew text of Leviticus, when juxtaposed with Onkelos' translation demonstrates his approach to the appellations:

וַיֵּצֵא בֶן אִשָּׁה יִשְׂרָאֵלִית וְהוּא בֶן אִשׁ מִצְרִי בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
(Lev. 24:10) וַיִּנָּצֵף בַּמַּחֲנֶה בֶן הַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִית וְהָאִשׁ
הַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִית

Onkelos rendering is:

וַיִּנָּצֵף בֶּן אֶתְנָתָא בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהוּא בֶּר גְּבִיר מִצְרָאִי בְּגוֹ בְנֵי
יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּנָּצֵף בְּעַשְׂרִיתָא בֶּר אֶתְנָתָא בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהָאִשָּׁה
בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל

Onkelos sometimes renders יִשְׂרָאֵל with a term borrowed from his contemporary society, בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל (Beth Israel), rarely used in the Pentateuch. This in limited cases, where the Hebrew text is expressing the concept of the community, as in Num. 23:23 and Num. 16:12. If we compare this usage with that used by the authors of the Gospel ("...the lost sheep of the house of Israel..." Matt. 25:23), or in the recently discovered letters in Nahal Hever¹²³, it

¹²² See expressions in Yeb. 13:1, and Ned. 9:10.

¹²³ See letter of Bar Kokhba to his commanders in Ein-Gedi, p. 134 below.

attests, to the vitality of the Politeia of Israel when the Judaeans lost their political independence in the second century A.D.

Onkelos' tendency to use contemporary terms is conspicuous in the rendering of עֲבֹדָה עֲבָדָה (Ex. 21:2), a fundamental Biblical legal term, by עֲבֹדָה בְּרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל. This, in defiance of the Mishnaic usage which preserved it in its Biblical form. It is noteworthy, that this term, is similar to that used in the statement of Mechilta d'Rabbi Ishmael, discussed by us in Excursus II.

The Appellations of the Jews in Legal Documents

We shall now turn our attention to the area giving some clues to the appellation of the Jews in civil and legal life. This is the area of codification and regulations pertaining to Jews in the Roman Empire.

Juster,¹²⁴ reviews this area in great detail. He says that both pagan and Christian emperors used Judaei to designate the Jews in Law, and that the only time they were designated (in Greek) as Ἰουδαῖοι, was in Justinian's Novellae edited in 553.¹²⁵ The reason for this usage is the object of our examination.

Roman Emperors started to issue laws against the Jews (Judaei) since Hadrian. These were the laws forbidding their residence in Jerusalem and concerning circumcision. All previous Roman legislation had to do only with confirmation or alterations to privileges accorded to Jews by Hellenistic

¹²⁴ See note 21, Vol. I, Introduction.

¹²⁵ Juster, *Les Juifs.*, Vol. I, p. 369.

monarchs, and--to be sure--in these documents the Jews were called by their Greek or Latin equivalent Ioudaioi-Judaei. Such processes of confirmation or changes in the laws were going on until Theodosius' time. Codex Theodosianus, published by Emperor Theodosius II in 435,¹²⁶ was a compilation of all laws enacted from the reign of Constantine until its date of actual composition. Numerous statutes of this legal corpus treat of Judaism. Theodosius II is the emperor in whose days (408-450) the Patriarchate of Gamaliel VI (425) came to an end. The Jews were now subject to legislation emanating from the imperial authority only. Judaism remained a religio Licita, and although as such it enjoyed the right of protection by the state, many are the references to its being a "wicked sect," a "superstition," a "sacreligious assembly," etc. The Church--on the contrary--is termed "the venerable religion; the Jews are termed "abominable" in many sections of the Code.¹²⁷

In 529 Justinian embarked upon the great enterprise of giving the empire a new Codex. The collegium of legislators who performed this task came up with several codes, Codex Constitutionum in 529, Digesta and Institutiones in 533.

¹²⁶ As regards the Jews, it contains two definite chapters: (1) Book 16 C. 8: "De Judaeis, Caelicolis et Samaritanis"; (2) Book 16, C. 9, "De Christianum mancipium Judaeus habeat." Each chapters contains 33 laws. See Juster, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 163

¹²⁷ Quoted by Father Edward H. Flannery, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56, who gives the numbers of the sections.

In the meantime Justinian had been issuing new laws. After his death, his additional legislation was published as Novellae, i.e., new enactments. Whereas the earlier publications had been in Latin, these were in Greek. All the above publications are loosely referred to as Codex Justinianus.

Juster dwells on the curious fact that Justinian, only in the Novellae, designated the Jews as Hebraioi, and looks for its reasons.¹²⁸ He is of the opinion that in Justinian's time the term Ioudaios "has become injurious." This quality--it acquired, according to him--since the fifth century:

Already previously it had a small frightening taint, acquired under the influence of the Church Fathers who compared, or more properly, assimilated the Jews, first allegorically, next with an aim to insult, to different beasts of the creation (preferably to vipers and mostly to dogs), but the term had not become frankly injurious until when the legal state of the Jews was totally debased, this is to say, since the beginning of the fifth century.¹²⁹ (translation mine)

In order to see the two usages made in the Codex Justinianus in their broader perspective, one has to take in consideration the fact that while the first two publications were the work of a Collegium of famous jurists, the laws formulated in the Novellae come as a product of Justinian's direct work or guidance. The Jurists followed the traditional formula hitherto appearing in Roman Law and in Codex Theodosianus, wherefrom they took the term Judaeus and repeated it.

¹²⁸

Les Juifs, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 172-76.

¹²⁹

Ibid., note 7 supra. Among these were Chrysostom and St. Leo, who called the Jews: "ye rabid dogs"

Justinian, however, was personally involved in the redaction of the Novellae and in changing Judaeus to Hebraios; he gave expression to his personal feeling that Judaeus was too pejorative to be used in a legal document. Indeed, Procopius of Caesarea, reports about Justinian's anti-Jewish regulations:

. . . The emperor also took pain to abolish the laws which the Hebrews honor,¹³⁰

Malalas reports that on January 13, 532 Justinian at a circus performance insulted the clowns by calling them "Jews," "Samaritans," "Manicheans," etc.¹³¹ The result was that a term used by the Church Fathers solely to designate the "Good" respect-deserving Jews, became a de-facto designation of all Jews in legal documents. This usage could not but have a far-reaching impact on certain parts of the empire after Justinian's death.

The famous Legislation of Justinian relating to the Jews is part of the Novellae issued by him in 553. The title of Novella 146 is πρὸς Ἑβραίους, and its purpose was to regulate the way of the celebration of the Jewish Liturgical services and various other matters pertaining to Jewish life.

¹³⁰ Op. cit., note 21; Introduction Vol. I. (The Sect Hist. XXVIII, 16) ". . . If it ever happened for instance that the year in its recurring rounds brought on the feast of Passover before the festival of the Christians, he would not allow the Jews to celebrate this at that feast, not to perform any of the rites customary among them."

¹³¹ Quoted by Juster, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 175, note 4, end.

The reading of the Law in the synagogical service, was always done in Hebrew, followed by translation (Targum) verse by verse, in the vernacular of the Jews in that land. Juster explains that a party among the Jews desired to eliminate this prolonged procedure and replace it by a direct reading in Greek, and so the Greek language would substitute for the Hebrew as the liturgical language. Justinian decreed that both procedures can be used: "Those among the Hebrews who wish so, have the liberty--wherever there are Hebrews, in the Synagogues, or any place they live--to read the Holy Books in Greek or in paternal Language (the one we name 'italic') or in any other language, so that the reading will be understood by all present."¹³²

θεσπιζομεν τοινυν αυτων αδειαν ειναι τους βουλομενους
Εβραίοις κατὰ συναγωγὰς αυτων καθ'ὸν Εβραίοι ὅλος τόπον
εἶναι διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς τὰς ἑτέρας βιβλους ἀναγινώσκειν
τοῖς δινιούδων ἢ καὶ τῆς πατριῶν τηχὼν (τῆς ἰταλικῆς ταύτη
φάμεν).

In Novella 146 II, Justinian formulates other laws pertaining to the Jewish creed and defines the severe penalties that will be imposed on those contravening the law: "It will not be permitted the Hebrews to agitate against any of the laws. . . (καὶ οὐ συγχωρηθεῖ παντελῶς Εβραίοις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖν...)

The appellation "Hebrews" introduced in legal terminology apparently penetrated in daily life and became common usage in the

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Les Juifs, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 370. Translation mine. James Parkes in his book The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue, N.Y. Atheneum 1974, p. 393, calls "italic"-Latin.

Byzantine Empire. It is fair to reason, that from there it marched with Justinian's armies to Italy and to Eastern Europe with the Byzantine Orthodox Church.

Designation of the Jews in the Rites of
Conversion to Christianity

In the first four centuries, Christians fought very hard to convert Jews into the new faith. Christian missionaries had a difficult task in converting Jews. Each missionary believed in the perfidy of the Jews (incredulity) towards the Saviour Jesus Christ. The whole concept of the pride in belonging to the "Chosen people" had to be overcome, and the battle was not easy. The strategy adopted towards the Jews was of a different nature from that used for the conversion of the pagans.¹³³ The strategy consisted in proving the new understanding in the interpretation of certain Biblical prophecies, and proving that the misfortunes which are the lot of the Jews, the loss of the Jewish state forever, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, the Holy cultic services completely abolished, are all signs that the Messiah is Jesus, and the Christian rites replace the Jewish.

In the early period of Christianity, in the second, third, and fourth centuries, conversion of Jews was welcome

¹³³ Juster quotes Gregory of Nyssa Orat. Catech. "One will not treat with same remedies the polytheism of the Greek (i.e., the pagan) and the incredulity of the Jew; the struggle engaged against the Manichaeon is not profitable in dealing with the Jew." Op. cit, Vol. I, Chap. II, p. 298.

to the Church, and the rites of admission were easier than those for pagan converts. But with the Church becoming the powerful institution, and State religion, by the powers of which through legislative measures she influenced the masses to join the dominant religion, the number of converts increased in an unusual measure. The Church became tougher and more rigorous in the procedure of admission to its frame. The Jewish converts were submitted to scrutiny examinations and renunciation of their Jewish faith. In the post-Justinian period, the Jewish converts had to pledge an oath of a definitive renunciation of their belief in Judaism. Of our interest is the continuation of the usage of Hebrews to designate the Jewish newcomers to the Church, a practice made popular through Justinian's earlier usage in the codification of his Novellae. The heading of this new formula is:

1. Particulars of items by which ought to be accepted that one of the Hebrews (τον ἐξ Ἑβραίων) who comes¹³⁴ over to the Christian faith.

I, such and such, one of the Hebrews (Ὁ δὲνα ὁ ἐξ Ἑβραίων), who passes today to the Christian faith, I do not do it because of coercion, force or need, fear or menaces, poverty, debts, or because of a penal accusation intended against me . . . and I renounce the Hebrew cult (πασῇ τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ θρησκείᾳ . . .) circumcision and all the Law.

In paragraphs 3 and 4 he also undertakes to anathematize the Jewish heresy (τὰς Ἰουδαϊκὰς πᾶσας αἵρεσεις),¹³⁵ the

¹³⁴ The text that follows is quoted by Juster, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 116, from M. F. Cumont's edition in 1902.

¹³⁵ Note, that when passing to condemn Jewish prac-

Talmud and its teachers (τάς δευτερώδεις καί τοὺς δευτερώτας). In paragraph 10, the convert is, in addition, required to anathematize the rabbis and the "new teachers of evil." ἀναθεματίζω πρὸς τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἀρχираββᾶταις καί τοὺς νεωτέρων Ἰουδαίων κακὸδιδασκαλοὺς. (emphasis mine)

This formula, however, did not entirely satisfy the church authorities that all converted Jews meant their conversion sincerely, and they suspected that some had only taken this step for outer appearances while they were practicing Judaism in hiding. Therefore, at the Council of Nicea a century later (687), the formula of admission to the Christian faith was altered to ensure stricter screening of the candidates. The text still uses both appellations of the Jews in the same contexts as in the late sixth century formula.¹³⁶

Canon 8 specifies that "one should not admit the Hebrews unless they turn to us with a sincere heart. . . ." "those who completely abandon the religious worship of the Hebrews. . . ." The Canon then enumerates the possible Jewish contraventions, listing among them: practicing their religion in hiding, observing the Sabbath secretly, and performing other "Judaic" (Ioudaika) rites." ". . . and we decide not to accept them into the Church." In the remaining

tices, the term used is "Ἰουδαϊκῶς" in contradistinction to "εβραϊκῶς," used previously (in same text) when speaking of the cult in general; the same applies to the "Jews, teachers of evil" who from Hebrews "turned now to be the abused Jews."

¹³⁶ Quoted by Juster, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 118, note 5.

part of the Canon the term Hebrew is again applied only to positive qualities of the Jews.

The usage of Hebrew in the Canons of the Church is a result of the penetration into Church legislation of Justinian's terminology. In the earlier Church history the case was different.

The Canons Dealing with Jews in the
pre-Justinian Period 137

1. Synod of Laodicea, 343-381 A.D.

Canons XXXVII, XXXVIII:

It is not lawful to receive portions send from the feast of Jews or heretics nor to feast together with them.

It is not lawful to receive unleavened bread from the Jews nor to be partakers of their impiety.

An ancient epitome of the same Canon sounded:

"Thou shalt not keep feasts with the Hebrews or heretics, or receive festival offerings from them."¹³⁸

2. African Code, 419 A.D., Carthage

Canon CXXIX deals with disqualification from giving testimony.

. . . That slaves and freedmen and all infamous persons ought not to bring accusation.

The explanation to the text goes on to say:

This also the case with all those who have the stain of infamy, that is, actors . . . also heretics or heathens or Jews.

¹³⁷ All Canons are quoted from NPNE, 2nd Series, Vol. XIV.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 151. This usage probably antedates Eusebius.

An ancient epitome of this Canon states: ¹³⁹

A slave and a freedman and he who before was accused of any of these crimes on account of which he was not admitted in court, and a player, a heathen and a heretic and a Jew [are not to give witness].

Summing up the position of the Church in its legislation concerning the Jews we can see that in the pre-Justinian period, the Canonical Law called them Jews and treated them as one of the heretical sects. After Justinian's death the usage of both appellations was made, Ioudaios being reserved for that part of the Canon which presented their negative image. Justinian's step only helped to introduce the term Hebraios as well into the Church legislation, but it did not alter the standing of the appellation Ioudaios in the eyes of the Church and the Christian communities at large.

The Jews in the Writings of the Late Sixth Century

Procopius of Caesarea

Procopius of Caesarea is the biographer of Justinian. He lived in Constantinople (527-565). He accompanied Justinian's general, Bellisarius in his wars in many lands. In his book, History of the Wars,¹⁴⁰ he tells some episodes in which Jews are involved or referred to in both appella-

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 504.

¹⁴⁰Op. cit., note 21; Introduction, Vol. I.

tions Ioudaioi and Hebraioi. In most cases the usage of "Hebrews" is made when referring to the far past, or when speaking of groups, and writings of the past.

a) On the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites:

When the Hebrews (Εβραίοι) had withdrawn from Egypt and had come near into the boundaries of Palestine (Παλαιστίνη), Moses, a wise man, who was their leader on the journey died and the leadership was passed on to Joshua, son of Nun, who led his people into Palestine, and by displaying a valor in war greater than that natural to a man, gained possession of the land. . . .

. . . . In that country there dwelt very populous tribes, the Gergesites and the Jebusites and some others with other names by which they are called in the history of the Hebrews.

b) Galimer in the triumphal procession before

Justinian:

He ceased not saying over in the words of the Hebrew 141
scripture: ἐπιλεγὼν δὲ οὐκ ἔπαυσατο κατὰ τῆν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν
. . . . "Vanity of vanities all is vanity." (Ecc. 1:2)

c) The Hebrews on the island of Iotabe on the Red Sea:

And there is a city called Aelas on its shore, where the sea comes to an end, as I have said and becomes a very narrow gulf. And as one sails into the sea from there, the Egyptian mountains lie on the right, extending towards the south. On the other side a country deserted by men, extends northwards, to an indefinite distance; and the land on both sides is visible as one sails in as far as the island called Iotabe, not less than 1000 shades distant from the city of Aelas (Ἄιλα Πόλεος). On this island Hebrews had lived of old in autonomy (ἐνθα Ἑβραίοι αὐτονομοῖ ἐκ Παλαιῶν ὤκινζα), but in the reign

¹⁴¹ Note, that while the modern translators make "Hebrew" an adjective modifying the noun "language," the classical writers always say: "the language of the Hebrews (τῶν Ἑβραίων)". Thus we talk here of a people called in the far antiquity Hebrews. As to the language, they always refer to it as a dialect, one of the many used by the semitic tribes and peoples of the eastern Mediterranean seaboard.
(a) Book IV.X.13-17; (b) Book IV.IX.77.

of this Justinian they have become subject to the Romans.
(Book I, XIX, 1-4)

It seems that in case (c) Procopius distinguishes between the Jews in the Roman Empire from those who seem to him to be the descendants of the ancient Hebrews and have not fallen before under the domination of Greek or Roman rulers.

d) During Belizarius' siege of Naples, the Neapolitans had asked Theodatus of Rome for help. Theodatus was bent to seek prophecies.

So he inquired of one of the Hebrews (τῶν τινος Ἑβραίων) who had a great reputation for prophecy, what sort of an outcome of the present war would have.
(Book V, IX, 1-4)

In this case, the approached is a contemporary Jew. However, the subject being prophecy, a psychological connection is formed with those who were famous for prophecy, the ancient Hebrews, and in order to give to the expected prophecy more weight the term "Hebrew" is used.

e) An ancient tribe of Jews in Lybia:

The city of Bozeium in Lybia, which lies near the barbarian Moors, has never been subject to tribute to the present time, nor to have any collectors of tribute or taxes come to it since the creation of man. The Jews (οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι) had lived close by from ancient times, and they had an ancient temple there also, which they revered and honored especially since it was built as they say by Solomon, while he was ruling over the Hebrew nation (βασιλευντος Ἑβραίων τούτου . . .). But the Emperor Justinian brought it about that all those too changed their ancestral worship and have become Christians, and he transformed their temple into a church.
(Buildings, VI, 11, 21)

The contemporary residents are called here Ιουδαῖοι in contradiction to those of Iotabe. There he defines them as Hebrews who never left their island; therefore, they never

changed their status and their appellation until Justinian conquered them and made them his subjects. In Lybia they were ruled by the Roman conquerors (and were only exempt from tribute, merely a privilege) and are therefore called Ioudaioi as all other Jews were called by the Romans. But Solomon is for Procopius the king of the Hebrews.

f) The Jews in time of Cyrus:

There was a certain utterly neglected fortress in Syria, Cyrus by name, which the Jews (ὡς περ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν τοῖς ἀνῶ χρέουσιν ἐδίδμαζον) built in early times when they have been carried off as captives from Palestine into Assyria. . . .
(Buildings II, XI, 2)

Procopius indicates that the fortress was built and named in commemoration of the Edict of Cyrus. Indeed, in all historical documents the Jews are already named Ioudaioi.

g) Miscellaneous statements mentioning Jews in connection with Belizarius' campaigns:

1) Among the treasures he captured from the Vandals were those of the Jews (Ioudaioi) which Titus brought to Rome. One of the Jews suggested to the Emperor that these be returned to Jerusalem where they belong.

(Book IV, IX, J-P)

2) In the siege of Naples Jews are negotiating the lifting of the siege (Ioudaioi). (Book V, VIII, 41)

3) The Jews held a sector of the circuit wall
(ἐνθα οὐχ' οἱ βαρβαροὶ ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαῖοι φυλακὴν εἶχον.)
(Book V, X, 24-26)

In the above passages, the usage is consistent with the general practice--designating the contemporary Jews in the Empire as Ioudaioi. In general, it may be said that

Procopius attests to the fact that the two appellations had at the end of the sixth century acquired distinct meanings: "Ioudaios" for common usage, "Hebraios"--in addition to its legal usage--as a term of reference to any religious concept which emanated from the ancient Hebrews.

EXCURSUS II

On the Treatment of "Hebrew Slave" by
Mechilta D'Rabbi Ishmael

The curious phenomenon of the absolute ignoring of the appellation "Hebrew-Ibri" by all persons named in the Mishnah Abot as those who are responsible for the transition of the traditions of the Jewish people from Moses to Rabbi, has already been stressed in the previous chapters. These historical personages are joined in their attitude by other distinguished men in the literary field, such as the Psalmist, Ben-Sira, Philo. All unanimously acclaim a nation called Israel, starting with Jacob, in highly emotional words; in particular, Philo's words in 36 A.D.¹ prove that this was not an imposed Pharisaic concept but was shared by both traditionalist and Hellenized Jews. The Rabbis' continuation of disregard of this appellation is, therefore, not an innovation of the Mishnaic-Talmudic era. It has, no doubt, a deep traditional reason why all generations saw fit not to adore Abraham "the Hebrew" but, instead, on any solemn occasion, when leaders like--in exhorting their people--to take pride in their glorious ancestors, they preferred to refer only to

¹Ad Galum, 3-4.

Abraham by his simple name² or "Your father Abraham."³ Ben Sira, who found laudatory epithets for all historical personages, accorded to Abraham only the title "the father of many nations."⁴ Willingly or unwillingly, one cannot escape the feeling that there was almost a conspiratory consent among all Jewish generations in all milieus not to mention Abraham as a "Hebrew-'Ibri."

Our opinion that all the usages of "Ibri" recorded by the Scriptural sources in the context of Egyptian and Philistine remarks were of the nature of an "external usage," has already been voiced in the proper chapters; we could, however, only conjecture the reason why Moses^{5a} left in his legislation the term "Hebrew slave." It is in order to discuss the nuances of this term that we are proceeding to the analysis of an interesting statement made in Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael on Ex. 21:2.

The Hebrew text of the passage is:

7. כִּי תִקְנֶה עֶבֶד עִבְרִי, בֶּן יִשְׂרָאֵל הַכְּתוּב מְדַבֵּר, אִי אֵינוֹ אֵלָּא בַעַד שֶׁל עִבְרִי, וְיָצָא אֵינִי מִקִּיִּים דְּהַתְנַחֲלִיתִּים אוֹתָם לְבָנֵיבָם אַחֲרֵיכֶם, וְגו' וּבִלְקַח מִן הָעוֹלָם, אֲבָל בִּלְקַח מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל שׁוֹמֵעַ אֲנִי שִׁיחָא עוֹבֵד שֶׁל יוֹצֵא בְּשִׁבְעֵית, 10. תִּלְמֹד לְיָמָיו, כִּי יִמְכֹּר אֶחָד הָעִבְרִי אוֹ הָעִבְרִיָּה לְהוֹ, שְׁאִין תִּלְמֹד לְיָמָיו הָעִבְרִי שֶׁהֵרִיכּוֹד נֶאֱמַר אֶחָד, וְיָצָא תִלְמֹד לְיָמָיו הָעִבְרִי, מִדִּסְנָה לְהַקִּישׁ וּלְדוֹן מִמֶּנּוּ גִזְרָה שׁוֹה, נֶאֱמַר כֹּאן עִבְרִי וְנֶאֱמַר לְהַלֵּךְ עִבְרִי, מֵהָ עִבְרִי הָאֱמֹר לְהַלֵּךְ, בֶּן יִשְׂרָאֵל הַכְּתוּב מְדַבֵּר, אֵף עֶבֶד עֹבֵד הָאֱמֹר כֹּאן, בֶּן יִשְׂרָאֵל הַכְּתוּב מְדַבֵּר, וְאֵפֶס שֶׁאֵין 15. רֵאִיָּה לְדַבֵּר, צָרִיךְ לְדַבֵּר, שְׁנֶאֱמַר וַיֹּאמְרוּ, אֱלֹהֵי הָעִבְרִיִּים נִקְרָא עֲלֵינוּ, וְאֵמַר יְיָוָה הַפְּלִיט וַיִּגְדֵּל לְאַבְרָם הָעִבְרִי. 5.

²See Ezra's prayer, Neh. 9:7.

³Jos. 24:3, a formula repeated in the Passover Hag-gadah. In Mishnah Abot 5:3 he is called "Our father Abraham."

⁴Praise of our Fathers, Ch. 44:19.

⁵Horovitz-Rabin Edition, p. 247.

^{5a}. See note 16a, Vol. I, p. 44.

The English rendering is:

"If thou buy a Hebrew servant" (Ex. 21:2)--the clause speaks of a "Ben-Israel"; or, is it possible that it speaks of a servant of a Hebrew? And how can I maintain [what is written] "And ye may make them an inheritance for your children after you" etc. (Lev. 25:46)--when he is purchased from a goy (gentile), but if he be purchased from an Israel[ite], I understand that he shall serve six years and go out free on the seventh [year]? Therefore the text says "If thy brother, a Hebrew man or Hebrew woman be sold unto thee," etc. (Deut. 15:12); the text should not have mentioned "the Hebrew," for it said already 'your brother.' Why, then, does it say 'the Hebrew'? It is intended for comparison and the drawing of an analogy. It is said here [Ex. 21:2] 'the Hebrew' and it is said there [Deut. 15:12] 'the Hebrews,' just as in the case there [Deut. 15:12] the clause speaks of a Ben-Israel, so the 'Hebrew servant' spoken of here [Ex. 21:2], a Ben-Israel is meant [by it]. And although there is no evidence for this [opinion] there is however a [similar] mention; for it is written: And they said: 'the God of the Hebrews has met with us' (Ex. 5:3), and it is also said: 'And there came one who had escaped and told Abram the Hebrew' (Gen. 14:13).

Our purpose is not to analyze the mechanics of the dialectics of the homilist's passage. However, the references made by the speaker to the ethnic qualities of the servant (=slave) are remarkable and deserve our attention and comment.

The Mechilta originates in the second century C.E. A debate held in the second century, in which the adorers of Israel analyze through usage of the principles of the "Thirteen methods of R. Ismael" what is the meaning of the term "Hebrew" and go back to historical settings of Moses' legislation and Abraham's adventures, cannot be ignored in our attempt to understand what "Hebrew" meant for the Jews.

It is unequivocally clear that, for the homilist, a Jew is called Ben-Israel. This term expresses an integral belonging to the Politeia of Israel, a man who believes in the God of Israel. The argument of the Mechilta is based on

two ways set by Moses to deal with slaves acquired by the Israel[ites]: (1) the case of Ex. 21:2, where the purchased "Hebrew slave" is to be set free after six years of service, (2) the case of Lev. 25:46, where Moses relates to slaves bought from indigenous and surrounding populations (when the Israelites will settle in Canaan). A slave bought from them will not enjoy the privilege of freedom after six years but shall be retained for life and may be transmitted as an inheritance to the buyer's children. The homilist-analyst is bent to prove to his listeners that Moses, in his legislation in Ex. 21:2, meant a slave, a "Hebrew" who was a "Ben-Israel." By the very fact that he poses the rhetorical question: "Or is it possible that he [Moses] speaks of a servant of a Hebrew?"--he betrays a dormant tradition in the Jewish people that there were in Moses' time certain people called "Hebrews-Ibrim," who were not part of the Politeia of Israel or, in other words, not a "Ben-Israel." The whole weight of the analogy to another Scriptural passage (Deut. 15:12) is used in order to remove any doubt that Moses legislated freedom in the seventh year only for slaves of "Hebrews" who were "Benei-Israel." What should we then understand by his question on "the slave of a Hebrew"? And why would such a slave not be accorded the privileges of a Ben-Israel? Is it not because he was not a Ben-Israel and would therefore fall in the group defined in case (2) above?

Thus we see, that there was a dormant concept in the second century C.E. that in Moses' time there were "Hebrews"

who were "Benei-Israel," and others who were outsiders. We also learn that those "Hebrews" were slave owners.⁶ Not of little interest is also the fact that case (2) in Lev. 25:46 is set close to the discussion of the relations between Israelites and Ger and Toshab. The chapter ends with the determination that no Israelite shall be a slave to this group of residents among Israel. Surely, they are the outsiders. Exodus 12:38 speaks of an "ereb-rab," a "mixed multitude" that accompanied the Israelites into the desert of Sinai. They, no doubt, continued their march to Canaan. Is it not plausible to assume that the "ereb-rab" were in fact the "Hebrews" from among whom the slaves came? And is it not possible that some of them took another course of march⁷ and, as "Hebrews", but not Benei-Israel reached the coast of Philistia and settled there and at the foothills of Judaea? The Philistines came later, in the sea-peoples' invasion (ca. 1188 B.C.), found "Hebrews," and lived with them. Thus two "sets" of Hebrews would have existed in the area known as Palestine: (a) the Israel[ites] who were led by the Judges and King Saul, (b) some indigenous tribes of non-

⁶Note the careful term he uses in the Genitive form: "Or, is he speaking about a slave of a Hebrew?"

⁷Just as some Israelites shocked Moses by saying they wanted to return to Egypt. One is tempted also to speculate on Chrysostom's pronunciation in the fourth century (See Chapt.V.p.42, note 52) that some of the Moabites and Ammonites were considered non-Israelite "Hebrews". Might not some of this "ereb-rab" have settled in other areas outside Canaan?

"Benei-Israel," "Hebrews", who lived and mixed both with the Philistines and with the Israelites.⁸

Such a theory can easily explain the difficult verse in I Sam. 14:21:

Now the Hebrews that were with the Philistines as before-time, and that went up with them into the camp roundabout; even they also turned to be with the Israel[ites] that were with Saul and Jonathan.

The whole rhetoric of the Philistines becomes more understandable. The Philistine captains ask King Achish about the identity of the men in his company: "מִהֶם הָעִבְרִים קָאֵלֶּה?" Who are "these" Hebrews (Of what "set" are they)? (I Sam. 29:3)

The opinion expressed in this excursus does not purport to claim historicity for the statement of the Mechilta. However, when added to the claims made by other Biblical scholars on the problem of the "Habitus" in Palestine and Egypt in the pre-Monarchy period, it adds more weight to the theory of the existence of non-Israelite Hebrew tribes in Palestine, from the Exodus till David. If we consider the notion of contempt⁹ that the appellation "Hebrew" (possibly designated in other dialects as "Habiru"), may have had before King David established definitely the Kingdom of Israel, it is not difficult to understand why Abraham is not adored by the Jews as a "Hebrew," and why from Moses to Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi nobody

⁸Very close to this theory is Harry M. Orlinsky in his book *Ancient Israel*, op. cit., pp. 51-52, who contends that the Habiru groups have been absorbed by the Moabites, Amonites, Edomites, Midianites, in addition to the Israelites themselves. See Vol. I, Chap. One, note 17, supra.

⁹See Moscati's appraisal, note 30, Ch. One, p. 68, supra.

wanted to have part of an appellation "Hebrew" for the Jewish people.

The adoption of "Hebraios" into the terminology of the Christian Church, and the affectionate status she accorded to it, stands out in its quality as the diametrically opposed view of that of the Jews. To be sure, it was made by a religious adversary, on religious grounds. The reasons have been discussed elsewhere.

CHAPTER SIX

COMPLEMENTARY AREAS

The Appellations of the Jews

- A. On Coins
- B. In Recent Archeological Finds
- C. The Names of Their Languages
- D. The Names of Their Land

A study of the process of the evolution of the names of the Jews in Antiquity would not be complete if the information submitted in the five chapters could not be complemented by the review of the information extracted from an analysis of the above four areas. The approaches and views of the persons who have coined the formulas of appellation in each area are indicative of the particular character of the three appellations in a given period in the life of the ancient Jews: adaptation to changing cultural milieu and political circumstances.

A. The Appellations of the Jews on Coins

Coins on which "Israel" or reference to "Yehudim" is made start only with the proclamation of the independence of Judaea by Simon the Hasmonean in 141 B.C. The last Jewish coins were struck by Bar Kokhba in 132-34 A.D. Madden's

classical analysis in his History of Jewish Coinage,¹ since updated by the finds in the twentieth century in Palestine, provides a clear picture of the historical trends and views of those who struck them. A general feature of all coins struck in the 275 years is that the inscriptions are in paleo-Hebrew script.

The Hasmoneans liberated their nation from the yoke of the Hellenistic monarchs but were quick to adopt their royal ceremonials. Simon, the first High Priest and ethnarch of the Jews, was granted by Antiochus Sidetes in 139 B.C., the right of coining money.² Among other coins, some bear the inscription "Shekel of Israel" (שֶׁקֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל), and on the reverse, Jerusalem the Holy (יְרוּשָׁלַם קֹדֶשׁ).

John Hyrcanus (135-36) referred to in the Talmud as Johanan Cohen Gaddol struck a coin with the inscription "Johanan High Priest and the Heber of the Jews" (יְהוֹנָתָן כֹּהֵן גָּדוֹל וְחֹבֵר הַיְּהוּדִים).³

¹Frederick W. Madden, History of Jewish Coinage, 1864; new edition (New York: Ktav Publishing, 1967), with Prolegomena and updating by M. Avi-Yonah.

²Ibid., p. 39.

³We prefer to leave the name "Heber" in its Hebrew form. There are various opinions as to what this word actually intended to represent, a college of councillors or a wider Gerusia. Our analysis is interested mostly in the demonstration of the political term "יְהוֹנָתָן" equated to the Hellenistic appellation Ioudaioi. Another version has: "and the Chief of the Heber of the Jews."

Alexander Janneus (105-78 B.C.) followed John Hyrcanus formula. Among the coins he struck, one bears the inscription "Jehonathan the High Priest and the Heber of the Jews." (יהונתן הכהן הגדול וחבר היהודים). But he also struck another coin in which the word Heber was omitted.⁴

The last king, Antigonus (40-37 B.C.), struck coins with a similar inscription in Hebrew, "Matathias the High Priest and the Heber of the Jews," and on the obverse, a Greek inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ, written round a wreath.⁵

The coins of the Herodian dynasty omit any reference to the Jews, or to Israel. These appellations are resumed only by the leaders of the First Revolt, 66-70 A.D.

The first year coins bear the inscription "שנת אחת ישראל" -- "first year of the redemption of Israel." The second year coin bears the inscription "ש"ב לחרות ישראל" -- second year of the freedom of Israel. The obverse has various engravings and emblems, or names, e.g., "Simeon" -- שמעון.⁵

In the _____ of Simeon ben Gamaliel the head of the Provisional Government in Jerusalem, coins were struck with

⁴Madden and Avi-Yonah stress this fact and claim this is indicative that Heber indicated a Constitutional monarchy" and its omission from the coin presents Alexander Janneus' as an absolute monarch. This is also evident from the Greek formula on the coins: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, and on the obverse יהונתן הכהן. Madden, op. cit., pp. 63-70.

⁵Madden, op. cit., p. 77.

⁶Ibid., pp. 167-74. Madden maintains this Simeon is Bar-Giyora.

the inscription "Simeon Prince of Israel" and on the reverse "First year of the redemption of Israel." (שְׁמֵעוֹן נָשִׂיא יִשְׂרָאֵל) (שְׁנוֹת אֶחָת לְגָאֻלַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל)⁷

Symbolism and a romantic trend is expressed in the coin of the second year of the First Revolt. The coin bears the inscription "Shenat Shtaim" and on the reverse "Heruth Zion" (Second Year / Freedom of Zion). Zion is an unreal political name, and its usage was only out of romantic and inspirational motives.⁸

The coins struck in memory of Vespasian's victory have on the obverse the portrait of the Emperor and on the reverse the inscription IUDAEA with a palm tree and an image of a Jew in bondage. The famous coin IUDAEA CAPTA shows in a series of issues a Jew with hands tied behind his back and a Jewess seated on the ground weeping. When Titus became emperor he struck similar coins in Judaea with a Greek inscription ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ and showing similar images of a Jew and a Jewess.⁹

The question of the Fiscus Iudaicus was dealt with by various emperors. This was a Jewish tribute imposed upon

⁷Ibid., p. 176. Avi-Yonah has a different opinion on this text. Writing in Prolegomena to Madden's book (see note 1), p. xxxvi, he states: "The identity of Simeon Bar Kokhba with 'Simeon Prince of Israel' remained a hypothesis, until the discovery of the documents in the caves of Muraba'at and Nahal-Hever rendered it a certainty." Avi-Yonah cites for his support the book of Milik and De-Vaux, Les Grottes de Murabaat, p. 24.

⁸See Preface and the appellation of the Jewish Legion in World War II.

⁹Madden, op. cit., p. 189.

them by Vespasian and enforced fiercely by Domitian. When Nerva came to power this tribute was abolished. The reverse of a coin struck by him has the legend, FISCI IUDAICI CALUMNIA SUBLATA;¹⁰ the palm shown on the coins of IVDAEA CAPTA was left, but the enchained Jew and weeping Jewess were eliminated.

In 131 A.D. Bar Kokhba started the Second Revolt against the Romans. In the first three years he held his ground against Hadrian's armies, and certain zones of Judaea were liberated. As a token of this liberation he struck new coins, thousands of which were found by archeologists. All of Bar Kokhba's coins--both silver and bronze--are struck upon Roman coins. Occasionally the figures and inscriptions dating from Titus and Domitian's reigns, can be recognized through the over imprinted new paleo-Hebrew inscription.¹¹ Chronologically speaking, they can be grouped in three types and they bear the following inscriptions: (1) "Year one of the Redemption of Israel"; (2) "Year Two of the Freedom of Israel"; (3) undated inscription of the freedom of Jerusalem. The other side of the coins bear different inscriptions: "Simeon," "Eleazar the Priest," or, the full title--"Simeon Nasi of Israel."

The emperor who succeeded Hadrian struck coins in

¹⁰Ibid., p. 199. The Jewish tax is removed.

¹¹See Madden, op. cit., p. 205; also attested by Yadin in his report on the discoveries in the caves where the "Letters of Bar-Kokhba" were found. See his book, Bar-Kokhba (New York: 1971), pp. 23-27.

Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem), and from that time the reference to Judaea was omitted.

Conclusions:

The inscriptions show that wherever the appellation Yehudim was used by the Hasmonean Kings, it was used as a pragmatic "real-political" appellation compatible with the Hellenistic mind. When the subject of the national survival or revival was to be expressed, the appellation used was Israel.

Another aspect of our problem is also proven: in the 270 years in which coins were struck by Jewish initiative in the most critical period of Jewish history, nobody felt that the term "Hebrew" expresses Jewish national sentiment. An appeal was made even to "Zion," the term used by the prophets, but not to "Hebrews."

B. The Appellations of the Jews in Recent Archeological Finds

1. The Documents of Yadin

In 1960 the Israeli archeologist Yigael Yadin headed an expedition with the aim of exploration of the caves in the southeastern region of the Dead Sea in the vicinity of Nahal Hever. Among the invaluable discoveries of the period of the Second Revolt are documents which attest to the vitality of the concept of Israel as a nation. Judaea was politically dead, but when Bar Kokhba was in control of the land and the nation--although its geographical extent is unknown to us--he

called himself Nesi Israel (נְשִׂיאִי יִשְׂרָאֵל), and his authority is attested in various documents.

The passages identifying Simeon Ben-Kosiba as the Nasi of Israel come from scrolls found by Yadin in the caves, written in a beautiful square Hebrew script. They are deeds of land transactions between Jewish persons under his dominion. One of them, pertaining to a lease of state land, negotiated with the official representative of Bar Kokhba at Ein Gedi, Jonathan, says:

On the twenty-eighth of Marheshvan the third year of Simeon Bar Kosiba Nassi of Israel, at Ein Gedi; of their own free will, on this day do Eleazar son of Eleazar son Hitta and Eliezer son of Samuel both of Ein Gedi, and Tehina son of Shimeon and Alma son of Yehuda, both of Luhith in the coastal district of Agaltain, now residents of Ein Gedi, wish to divide up among themselves the places that they have leased from Jonathan son of Mhnyim the administrator of Simeon ben Kosiba, Nassi of Israel at Ein Gedi.¹²

The second document deals with a transaction between two civilians. It is dated "On the second of Kislav in the third year of Simeon ben Kosiba, Nasi of Israel."¹³ A third document of the same nature is listed by Yadin is also dated in the third year of Bar-Kokhba.

Two other documents are written in Aramaic and dated: "On the first day of Iyyar, in the first year of the redemption of Israel by Simeon ben Kosiba Nasi of Israel."¹⁴ The

¹²Note that the name of Bar Kokhba is given once with "Bar" and a second time with Ben. See Yadin, op. cit., p. 176.

¹³Ibid., p. 178.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 180.

term "redemption" (גאולה), if linked to the prayer preceding the Eighteen Benedictions, "Rock of Israel, arise to the help of Israel. . . . Praised be Thou, O Lord, Redeemer of Israel," is unequivocally referring to the people and not to the territory of Judaea.

Yadin discovered fifteen dispatches written or dictated "by the Last President of ancient Israel 1800 years ago."¹⁵ One of them, "the wooden letter" begins with the words: "Simeon Bar Kosiba Nassi of Israel, to Jonathan and Masabala, peace."¹⁶ The addressees are military commanders. The other letters do not mention his title, but open simply with his name only: "From Simeon ben/bar Kosiba to . . ." Their content is: orders, instructions, or reprimands on civil and military affairs. The term "Israel" is also used by Bar Kokhba in its traditional prophetic usage. In one letter written by him in Hebrew, he reprimands his Commanders in Ein Gedi:

From Simeon Bar Kosiba to the men of Ein Gedi
To Masabala and Jonathan bar Beayan, peace.
In comfort you sit, eat and drink from the property of
the House of Israel and care nothing for your brothers.¹⁷
(emphasis mine)

Other documents involving the civilian and military

¹⁵Yadin's words in presenting his discoveries to the then President of the State of Israel, Itzhak Ben-Zvi, in 1960. See Preface, op. cit.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 122.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 133. Compare the usage of the N.T. "... the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt.10:6, 15:24).

staff of Bar Kokhba were also found in the caves of Meruba'at, explored a decade before Yadin.

2. The Documents of Muraba'at

The caves situated in a wadi by that name west of the Dead Sea, have been explored in 1952 by Pere R. de Vaux and Father J. T. Milik. A letter from the civil administrator, Joshua ben Galgoula, ends with the following greeting: "Be you well and the whole House of Israel."¹⁸ This formula was--as we have seen--used by Bar Kokhba himself; it therefore represents the style of their generation.

Among other finds in the caves, Milik reports an inscription on a crown made of palm branches: "Simeon, Nasi of Israel" and another on a jar (amphore): "Year One of the red[emption of Israel]."¹⁹

Legal Documents

a) A bill of divorce in Aramaic emanating from Massada in 111 C.E. is interesting in its usage of Yehudi:

5. "במצדא די הויית אנתי מן קדם דה די את
רשיא בנפשכי למחך ולמחי את לכל גבר

"at Masada, whereas you were my wife "יהודי דר תצבין"
before, you may go and be [a wife] to any Jewish man of
your choice..."²⁰

b) An act of marriage dated 117 C.E. has a variant of the traditional formula ". . . לאנתא כדת משה . . .

¹⁸ Quoted by Yadin in op. cit., p. 136.

¹⁹ See Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, Barthelemy and Milik (Oxford, 1961), Vol. II, p. 46.

²⁰ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 105, papyrus #19.

in contradistinction to the Talmudic formulas.²¹

- | | | |
|-----|--|---------------|
| (1) | הוי לי לאנחו כדת משה וישראל | (Kidushin 9a) |
| (2) | לכשתכנס לביתי תהוי לי לאנתי
כדת משה ויהודאי | (Yeb. 14a) |

Bills of land sales from Bar Kokhba's time again testify to the rise of the status of 'Israel' in the regions under his dominion: One document is dated "The fourteenth Marheshvan Year One of the redemption of Israel." A second, from the second year, has more information:

In the twentieth of Shebat, in the Second Year of the redemption of Israel by Simeon Ben Kosiba the Nassi ("נסיא"-sic!) of Israel.²²

A word in connection with the marriage act. The formula (2), "Kedath Moshe ve-Yehudaei" was abandoned in favor of the formula which since became traditional: "Kedath Moshe ve-Israel." This is undoubtedly due to the general change in the sentiment of the Rabbis and their vision of "Israel" as a wide-embracing concept unifying the dispersed trans-territorial Jewish people, expressing its faith and mores in lieu of the term Yehudai, which was limited in its nature, generally, to a pragmatic usage.

The other documents, combined with those discovered by Yadin, attest to the "last-ditch" stand made by the concept of "Israel" to survive in its nationalistic meaning. After the collapse of this effort, the Rabbis chose a new path in order to consolidate the House of Israel by injecting

²¹Ibid., Vol. II, p. 110, papyrus #20.

²²Ibid., pp. 118 and 124.

into the term "Israel" a new meaning. This was done through the vehicles of the Mishnah, Midrash and Talmud, as we have shown in Chapter Five.

C. The Names of the Languages of the Jews

In the period of our investigation the Jews spoke more than one language because of their dispersion among other nations. After each deportation or voluntary settlement in foreign countries, they adopted the language of their milieu as the spoken language. The language of the Bible became for them only a literary language; hence, the necessity of translation of the Bible into other languages, Aramaic (Targum) and Greek. From a living language in the time of the Monarchy it became already a dead language in the days of R. Judah Ha-Nassi. Examining the language situation in Palestine at the turn of the second-third centuries, he said: "In Eretz-Israel--why [speak] כּוּנִי language? Either the sacred language or the Greek language [is more appropriate!]." ²³

The Hebrew term "Leshon ha-kodesh" does not, strictly speaking, denote a language which is sacred (and should therefore not be profaned by using it in daily communication. Rabbi rejected categorically this view, and Talmudic sources relate that the servant-maid at his house spoke

²³Bab. Tal., B.K. 82b-83a; for the remark on Rabbi's servant maid, see Rosh-Hashonah 26b.

Hebrew, and moreover she was a source of information for scholars on linguistic subjects. However, the usage of Hebrew in speech diminished, and by the end of the sixth century, the Hebrew language was, most certainly, merely a literary tool.

What were the appellations of this language from its birth to its extinction? Our survey will be strictly limited to the various aspects of the appellation itself and is in no way intended to deal with historical or philological problems.

The language spoken by the Israelites in Palestine during the Monarchy is called by Isaiah the language of Canaan (Is. 19:18). Indeed, inscriptions from the regions of Moab and Sidon show the great affinity of those dialects with the inscription of King Hezekiah (the aqueduct from the Gihon), or other inscriptions²⁴ discovered later, both in Palestine or in northern Syria (Samal).²⁵ Despite this fact, the language spoken in that time is called by Hezekiah's dignitaries²⁶ Yehudith (the language of Judaea, or of the Judaeans). Nehemiah, 250 years later, describing the cultural situation in Judea in his days, uses the same term. Speaking of the mixed marriages, he states: ". . . and their children spoke

²⁴H. Donner-W. Rollig Kan. und Aram. Inschr. op.cit. The Gezer calendar, the Lachish Ostraca, the Siloam inscription; Canaanite: The sarcophagus of Sidon and Byblos. (Ashmunezer and Yehawmilk) Pp. 181-199; 13, 10.

²⁵Ibid., Kilamuwa and Barrakab. Pp. 215-216.

²⁶II Kings 18:26. "Speak unto us Aramaic, for we understand not Yehudith."

. . . half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak Yehudith (in the language of the Jews)." (Neh. 13:24)

In the year 133 B.C. Ben Sira's grandson proceeds to translate his book (written in Biblical Hebrew) into the Greek language. He calls the original language Ἑβραϊστί (Hebraisti).²⁷

At the end of the first century John, in the Evangel, used the same term in Greek four times in order to explain to his readers words of Hebrew or Aramaic origin.²⁸ Our interest, though, is focused on his report on the languages written on the Cross: Romaïsti, Hellenisti, and Hebraïsti. (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew). "Isti" is, then, the suffix which, added to the nationality of a man, indicates the language he speaks. This point is of primary importance in connection with the determination of the identity of the Hel-lenistōn and Hebraious in Acts (6:1-3).²⁹

Philo, in referring to the language of the Bible or the dialect of the Jews, calls it Χαλδαϊστί -Chaldaic apparently having in mind the spoken Aramaic vernacular.³⁰ While Philo also uses the term "language of the Fathers,"^{30a} Josephus, a Judaeen born in Jerusalem and reared in the Pharisaic schools, calls the language of the Jews both

²⁷Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, Rahlfs' Septuagint, op. cit, Vol. II, p. 378.

²⁸See Vol. I, p. 187, supra.

²⁹See Excursus I, Vol. I, p. 244, supra.

³⁰See Chapter Three, note 64.

^{30a}See Works, Vol. II, 41, 145.

"Εβραϊστί" and the "language of the fathers"³¹ and uses "Εβραϊστί" for both Hebrew and Aramaic words.

The Mishnah is the first Jewish literary document where the language of the Jews is designated by the adjective 'ibrith, עברית, "Hebrew." "A divorce bill written in 'ibrith Hebrew and his witnesses [signed] in Greek . . ." (Gittin 9:8). "One may alter Bills of payment from Hebrew, 'Ibrith to Greek and from Greek to Hebrew" (Tosefta, B.B. 11:8). The Talmud (Gemara) expands this usage including 'ibrith in a larger group of languages. "If he read [the Megillah] in Egyptian (gipthith), Hebrew, Eilamite, Median, or Greek . . ." (he has not fulfilled his duty;--he should read it in):
 " . . . Egyptian [language] to those who understand Egyptian, and Hebrew [language] to those who understand Hebrew."
 גפיתית לגפטים עברית לעבריים (Meg. 18a) 32

Sometimes the appellation 'ibrith relates to the script only, more properly, in relation to the paleo-Hebrew script, while the square script which is given a status of sacredness is called "ashurith,"

Said Mar Zutra: At the beginning the Law was given to Israel in Hebrew script and the Sacred Language. In the days of Ezra it was given a second time in Ashurith (Assyrian) script and Aramaic language. [The sages] have

³¹See Chapter Three, notes 58, 59; Chapter Four, note 14, and Excursus I.

³²The debate refers to reading the Megillah in the Egyptian dialect to Jews in Egypt. (xx) Rashi comments: "Hebrews--people from Across the River,--to be read in their tongue." (xxx) If he reads Greek to Greek speaking Jews, the reading is conforming to the Law, but if he reads to any Jew in a dialect not understood by him, it is against the Law.

chosen for Israel the Assyrian script and the Sacred Language, and they [the sages] left for the commoners the [paleo-] Hebrew script and the Assyrian language. Who are the commoners (הדיוטות)?--said R. Hisda: The Chutaeans (Koutim, Samaritans).

(Sanh. 21a)

Another passage in the Mishna dealing with the defiling of the hands designates the language by the feminine adjective 'ibrith, and the script by the masculine adjective 'ibri. "A Targum which he wrote in Hebrew, and a Hebrew [text] which he wrote in Targum (= i.e., Aramaic language) and in [paleo-] Hebrew script, does not defile the hands. . . ." (Yad. 4:5)³³

Most passages referring to the language in the Talmud and Midrash prove that the sages called the language not Hebrew but the Sacred Language. Illustrative are the following points:

(1) The regulations pertaining to screening the mobilized men for war say: The anointed for war (the war priest) when he spoke to the people, he spoke in the Sacred language. . . . (Sotah 7:8)

(2) On teaching the children Hebrew, a Midrash says (commenting on Deut. 11:19: "Hence they [the sages] said: When a child begins to speak his father should speak to him in the Sacred Language, and teach him the Law; and if he does not . . . it is as if he buried him." (Sifre, Parashat Eikeb)

(3) Similar to Rabbi's remarks on the necessity

to speak the Sacred language in Palestine, some Babylonian sages expressed the same opinion: "Said R. Yossi: Why [do we] speak Aramaic in Babylonia? Either [we should] speak the Sacred Language or Persian!"

We have, however, two passages in the Talmud where the language is unequivocally called the "Hebrew Language",

(4)

Said R. Jonathan of Beit-Gubrin:
The world possesses four nice
languages for usage, and they are:
Greek (קלל) for singing, Latin
(לומי) for war, Syriac (סורית)
for elegy, Hebrew (עברי) for
speaking. And some say even Assy-
rian for writing.

(Jer.Tal.Meg., Ch.I, 71b)

(5) The combination of the Hebrew language and the Assyrian script is praised by the sages:

The Assyrians have a script and
no language [on the other hand],
the Hebrew [people] had a lan-
guage and no script; they [the
sages] have chosen for them [the
Jews] the Assyrian script and
the Hebrew language.

(Jer.Tal.Meg. Perek A)

In conclusion, it can be said that the designation of the language as 'Hebrew' does not originate in the Bible. The first testimony that it has a relationship to the Biblical language is that of Ben Sira's grandson in 133 B.C.; it is next followed by the Evangelist John. Yadin cites a letter written in Greek by certain military personnel of Bar-Kokhba's

army where the writers explain that it is written in Greek "as we have no one who knows Hebrew."³⁴ But Yadin himself states that the text is not well preserved, and "Hebrew" may include Aramaic as well. This usage is, then, of the same nature which John and Josephus made. The term "εβραϊστί" embraces, therefore, literary and spoken Hebrew and the Aramaic vernacular spoken by the Palestinian Jews in Jesus' time. In the Mishnaic and Talmudic period the language was called the Sacred Language, and 'ibrith was used in regulations of legal and ritual nature. The testimonies in praise of the Hebrew language prove that it was still spoken in Palestine in the period of the Palestinian Amoraim. Its extinction most probably occurs with the disappearance of the latter from the historical scene, i.e., ca. 425 A.D.

By that time, a vast Church literature grew up. The Church Fathers, in their adoration of the Hebrews, their Faith and their writings, coined a Greek term to designate the language in which the adored Hebrews wrote the Holy Scripture: "the language of the Hebrews" (γλῶττῃ τῶν Ἑβραίων)³⁵ There was, to be sure, a practical reason for this designation. Jews changed languages in their history more than any other nation in ancient history, for reasons of their deporta-

³⁴Bar Kokhba, op. cit., p. 131.

³⁵Unlike Ben Sira's grandson and John who call the language "Εβραϊστί," the Church Fathers never so designate it, but, with no exception, refer to it as "the Language of the Hebrews." See Eusebius.

tions, migrations, and the linguistic expansions of dominant political and cultural factors in Palestine. If part of the Jews still spoke the "Lashon Kodesh" (Sacred Language) in the fourth century--in the eyes of the Church Fathers it was always not a language of the Jews but of the adorable ancient Hebrews. The translators of "Υλβρη των Εβραίων" into an adjectivial form of "the Hebrew language", have by this act transformed the "Language of Canaan" of Isaiah (Is. 19:18) into its present name, "Hebrew Language".

D. The Appellations of the Land of the Jews

According to the earliest Biblical sources, the land in which Abraham settled was named in his time Canaan (Gen. 12:5). It continued to be called so until the sea peoples' movements, and the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt in the thirteenth century B.C. The region was since settled by two peoples who left the mark of their name imprinted on the land: The Philistines-Philistia and Israel. The area of Philistia was centered mainly in Gaza, Ashdod (Azotus), Ascalon and Ekron; the remainder of Canaan was called "the land of the Benei-Israel (Jos. 11:22). In Samuel's days (late eleventh century B.C.), the political unity of the Israel tribes had made certain progress and the areas they settled were called simply the Land of Israel (I Sam. 13:19). Although this was not a political name, it has survived as a unifying concept and was revived by the Rabbis after the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D.

From David (ca. 1000-960 B.C.) to Herodotus, who in 450 B.C. speaks of Palestine, Παλαιστίνη Ἰρπια,³⁶ Philistia existed on the coast of Palestine, while Phoenicia extended from Dor, northward. The interior of the land had its regional names, Judah and Israel; the latter two names, as a result of exile, deportation, and resettlement of populations, gave way to new names: Yehud and Samaria. Philistia, as a maritime country maintaining commercial ties with the Greek peoples in the eastern Mediterranean, became known by its Greek name "Παλαιστίνη," Palestine. In the Persian period, Palestine was part of the fifth province organized by Darius. Herodotus says: "This province contains the whole of Phoenicia and that part of Syria which is called Palestine, and Cyprus." (Book III, 95).³⁷ This is the first testimony that the name Palestine had gained international acceptance as a term covering the geographical area stretching from Egypt to Phoenicia. While under Persian administration "Yehud" was part of the greater province Abar-Nahara (Ezra 7:14, 21), the Greeks (Herodotus and later others) saw Palestine as part of the greater conglomerate called Syria. When the Near East was reorganized by the Hellenistic rulers, the semi-autonomous Jewish region became known under its Greek designation Ioudaia-Judaea, being part of the greater entity called both Palestine and Coele-Syria. After the Maccabean revolt, the

³⁶Herodotus, the Histories, op. cit., II, no. 4.3; II, 106; III, 91; IV, 39.

³⁷Ibid., Book III, 95, p. 214.

Romans were the first to recognize the name of the new political entity as Iudaea; they dealt with her, albeit her political status changed significantly, until they crushed her in 70 A.D., sealing her final fate by striking the coins IUDAEA CAPTA and IUDAEA DEVICTA.³⁸

During the Roman period in the history of the Jews, the Latin writers adopted the Greek appellation of the region and referred to the areas of Judaea, Samaria, the Decapolis and other adjacent cities as Palestine. The name Palestine became a universally accepted term, even among Jewish authors. So we find Philo (early first century) using this term,³⁹ and after him Josephus follows suit. In 94 A.D., in his Jewish Antiquities, he joins with the non-Jewish writers and historians in calling the country Palestine.⁴⁰

Philo is the first in Greek literature to call Palestine the Holy Land,⁴¹ a term that subsequently gained universal acceptance by the Rabbis and Church Fathers alike.

After Hadrian's war against the Jews was over, the Romans named the region Palestine. Subsequently they divided it into three zones: Palestine Prima, Secunda and Tertia (I,II,III).⁴²

³⁸Madden, The Coins, op. cit., p. 183

³⁹Philo, L.C.L., Vol. IX, Every Good Man Is Free, XII, 75: "... Palestinian Syria . . . In this country live a considerable part of the nation of the Jews." Note the formula is exactly that of Herodotus.

⁴⁰Ant., XX, 259. "... the events that befell us Judaeans in Egypt, Syria and Palestine.:

⁴¹Ad Galum, 205.

⁴²According to Jew. Encyl., Vol. 9, p. 498, this division dates only from the fifth century C.E.

The Jews did not submit to the general opinion that the country had been lost forever for their future generations. Although there are some indications in Jewish literature that the name "Palestine" was used by Jews, they are indicative of historiographical usage only.⁴³ The Mishnah saw in the country a land where Israel lives and continues to observe the religious precepts and observances in accordance with the traditions and Laws of Israel.⁴⁴

Rabbi Akiba testifies that the Jews in the Diaspora referred to Palestine as Eretz Israel.⁴⁵ He also refers to the country by the name in context of regulations applicable to Eretz Israel in contradistinction to Syria (Shebi'ith 6:2). The vitality of this name in agricultural legislation of the Mishnah is attested to in many places, in particular those dealing with the laws of tithe. Many Jews lived in the border zones of Palestine-Syria. Their transactions, purchase, lease and sale of land or fruits, are the subject of these

⁴³Mainly in Midrash. (1) Gen. R. Parasha 90, end: "in the three countries Phoenicia, Arabia, and Palestine"; (2) Lev. R., referring to Gat-Plishtim, Amos 6:2: "... these are the mounts of Palestine"; (3) Lam. R., to 1:5: "The Dux of Palestine."

⁴⁴A Mishnah, referring to the period when the Temple existed, mentions "Eretz Israel" as the first preference for contributions made by Jews from neighboring countries, Babylonia, Media, etc. (Shek. 3:4). The northern boundary of Eretz Israel, for the purpose of Hallah, is given as Kezib in Galilee (near modern Nahariya) (Hallah 9:8) (Shebi'ith 6:1).

⁴⁵Yebamoth 16:7, in a conversation with a Babylonian rabbi R. Nehemiah.

regulations. For this purpose, the country is called Eretz Israel.⁴⁶

Rabbi Judah the Patriarch calls it Eretz- Israel when he expresses his opinion on the languages the Jews used in his days.⁴⁷ The later rabbis, in their desire to encourage the Jews not to leave Palestine and settle abroad, said: he who lives in Eretz-Israel, his act of residence is equivalent to the observance of all 613 precepts of the Law.⁴⁸

What did this mean to the Jews? The appellations of many countries in modern times are a combination of "Land" plus the name of the people who live in it. Thus we have England, Deutschland, Finland, Scotland, Swaziland, the inhabitants of which are the English, Deutsche, Finns, Scots, Swazis. In the case of Eretz Israel--in the period in which the Tannaim have so called it--the land was already called by an administrative and political name, Palestine; the country had a mixed population; it was, for all practical purposes, not a land where the Jews dominated or shaped its destiny. The term was, then, only for internal usage among Jews all over the world. Its meaning did not imply possession by the people of Israel but rather implied the spiritual attachment

⁴⁶ (1) See Demai 6:1. "A man who sells fruits in Syria and he stated they are from Eretz Israel . . ." (2) Orlah 3:9, "In Eretz Israel they are [when in doubt as to orlah] forbidden (the fruits), in Syria [they are] permitted."

⁴⁷ See note 23 supra.

⁴⁸ B.B. 67b.

of all Israel to the land where their traditions were born and shaped. It was a focal point in their belief of redemption, a country which can be expropriated neither by decrees of Rome or by the new doctrines of the Church that the dispersion of the Jews is an act of punishment by God for their rejection of Christ and that they will never be ingathered again. For the Romans and the Church, the effacing of the name of Judaea and Israel from the world map was a primary aim. The Rabbis' goal was exactly the opposite. By naming the land Eretz-Israel they succeeded in maintaining a spiritual attachment of the Jews to the land. Even in Aramaic texts the nomenclature is still the same. In the proem to the Passover service on the night of individual and national reflection on the redemption of Israel, the anonymous national preacher exclaims, "This year we are [still] here [in the Diaspora], next year [we shall be] in the Land of Israel (בארעא דישראל)⁴⁹". The term used in the Mishnaic period, for practical purposes, steadily and progressively lost its pragmatic meaning, retaining only its romantic association with the glorious past, and hoping for the day when it might again belong to their nation.

⁴⁹

This formula originates in

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

We have reviewed literary sources from the very earliest origins of the Hebrew-Israel-Jewish people, i.e., from Abraham's migration to Canaan until Justinian (ca. seventeenth century B.C. to sixth century C.E.). We have encompassed the whole spectrum of historical events that had an impact on the various phases in the evolution and changes of the appellations by which this people has been called in internal and external usage. Periodic summaries have presented the status of each appellation in the particular sectors in the wake of each new epoch that the great historical events inaugurated. The three great events that gave a new direction and meaning to the appellations of the Jews were: (1) Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire, (2) the Romans' destruction of Jerusalem, and (3) Constantine's conversion to Christianity. Two other antecedent events of similar historical significance in this respect, were the Exodus from Egypt and the "Return to Zion" after the Edict of Cyrus. All of them are stations in the life of each appellation of the Jews. They are turning points in any diagram or curve, were we to present graphically the course each appellation ran.

The purpose of this summary is to give a comprehensive view of the course of each appellation, both as a func-

tion of the historical events and in its interdependence with the two others. On the surface, it would appear that the three are synonymous, and no attention should be paid to the circumstances of their usage. However, the investigation of the sources disproves such an erroneous presumption. Each of them had always represented different images and intents for their users. What conclusions can we draw on the course and meaning of each appellation?

Hebraios-Ibri-Hebrew

The conspicuous silence of the Prophets of Israel, Ben-Sira in his "Praise of Our Fathers," the Rabbis and the Midrashim, clearly point to the fact that the leaders of the nation which was built from Moses to Rabbi Judah ha-Nassi did not appreciate the appellation "Hebrew." Moses led a disorganized multitude of oppressed tribes out of Egypt. According to Biblical sources, the Egyptians called them Ibrim (=Hebrews). He was, however, imbued with a vision that a nation which is about to start a new life, get a new Law and a new Land must have a new name. He chose the name of the eponym of Jacob, who, according to tradition, led the emigrating party of the Hebrew tribes in Canaan four hundred years earlier to Egypt;—"Israel" (in its early stage used in the form of "Benei-Israel"). Joshua, in his declaration to the Assembly of the leaders of the new nation at Shekhem, spoke not of "Hebrew" ancestors but just mentioned the fact of

their "Trans-Euphrates" origin.¹

At the end of the first century C.E., Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh agrees with such a formulation of the ancestry of the Jewish people,² and does not find it necessary to link the Jewish people of his generation to the "Hebrew" ancestors. This definitely points to a conspicuous disregard for any claim that the nation should take pride in an appellation "Hebrew," an attitude adopted by the seceding Judeo-Christians.

The question poses itself why this disregard? The days of Rabban Gamaliel were the very days of the reconstruction of Judaism under the aegis of the Academy of Jabneh when the Judaeans lost their political identity and a new one was not yet found. It was only in its shaping phase. Josephus, in his writings in 74 A.D., pointed purposely to his "Hebrew descent." Paul, in his preaching in the synagogues, did the same. True, none of these two Jews could serve as a model for the Rabbis of the "Jabneh period." Our view on the prob-

¹Jos. 24: 2, 3. "... Your fathers dwelt of old time beyond the River, . . . and I took your father Abraham from beyond the River and led him . . . to Canaan, and I multiplied his seed.

²Most of the statements made in the Haggadah in Rabban Gamaliel's name point to the fact that the quotation from Joshua 24:2, 3 read in a solemn mood on a night of a national holiday had the character of a re-statement of national positions on the quality of the Jewish people after the debacle of 70 A.D. and the secessionary movement of the Minim.

able motives of Josephus and Paul in their exaltation of their "Hebrew" origin was made clear earlier.³

The fact that the Rabbis ignored Abraham's "Hebrew" appellation does not imply a weakening of Judaism's link with the Patriarchs. It only points to a concept and an appraisal that although Abraham was the origin of God's promise to the nation, its actual formation took place in Moses' days by his dramatic acts; the appellation that he gave to the nation in the desert of Sinai is, therefore, the one that expresses the concept of nationhood--Israel. The period from Abraham to Moses is in this way presented as a prelude to Israel's nationhood and not as an integral part of the history of the Jewish people; the appellation "Hebrew" has, therefore, no relevance in the history proper of Israel.

On the contrary, Paul came to reject the obsolete Law of Moses. In his claim that he was the continuator of the "True Way" of "Our Forefathers," he had to go beyond Moses and anchor his new religion in the latter's great precursor, the patriarch Abraham, and by this step, the stature of Abraham's epithet "the Hebrew"--Hebraios, was raised to its high standard in the Christian Church. Hence stems the future adoration for the "Hebrewness"--so to say--of the Judean and other "noble" Jews. We cannot but deduce that this phenomenal tradition of ignoring the appellation ibri, manifested by the major literary creations from Genesis to the

³See Vol. I, Chapter Four, p. 207, *supra*.

Mishnah, including the writings of Ben-Sira and Philo, is deeply rooted in a historical reason that is at the base of this dislike. It is plausible to infer from the discoveries in this century of the background of the migration of the Semitic tribes in the second millenium B.C., that the sentiments of the Jews towards the "Hebrews" stem from that period, to be more precise, from the relations between the Hebrew tribes and their neighbors.

We cannot avoid touching on the question of the Habiru groups in Palestine in the Amarna age, and the impact their way of life had on the appraisal of a man called by the name "Habiru." The similarity in the sound of 'Ibri' could not but have a detrimental effect on the status of the Hebrew tribes, both in the pre-Exodus and post-Exodus periods. We have mentioned Moscati's opinion on how such an appraisal could have realistically taken place.⁴ There are scholars who maintain that certain "Hebrew" tribes did not emigrate to Egypt, and they stayed on in the hill country of central Canaan. On the other hand, the existence of non-Israel[ite] Ibrim is implied by the obscure passage in I Sam. 14:21 and similar pronouncements. This point has been fully discussed in Excursus II and the conclusions reached there explain the absence of respect for the appellation in the Jewish sector.

The Jewish Hellenistic writers, under the influence

⁴See Vol. I, Ch. One, p. 68, note 30.

of Greek and Egyptian historians' tendency to demonstrate the antiquity of their peoples (Thucydides, Manetho, et al.) introduced in their writings the appellation "Hebraios" mostly out of romantic and nostalgic motives. They were followed by the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic writers in the first centuries B.C. and A.D., who, in the milieu of Roman oppression, brutal rule, surge of pagan cult, and imperial deification (Augustus, Gaius), expressed nostalgically their affinity with Abraham by stressing their being "Abraham's seed" (זרע אברהם). The process of the adoration of "Abraham the Hebrew" was in the making.

The early Judaeo-Christians followed in Paul's footsteps and used "Hebraios" to designate the Judaeon or Diaspora-Ioudaios who threw off his external shell, the mantle of obsolete Judaism--the Old Testament--, regained his "true" link to Abraham, and became a "Hebrew." The respect accorded to the appellation "Hebrew" in the first century C.E. was expanded in a different direction by Eusebius in his writings, ca. 325 A.D.

It became the appellation designated to denote the "good Jew," and, if the case be, the exceptional "noble" Jew of the post-Jesus era. This designation had as its purpose to denigrate the quality of the pragmatic name of the Jews "Ioudaios." It did the job well. In the sixth century the appellation Ioudaios became so contemptible that Justinian, himself offensive to the Jews, had no choice but to use in his legislation dealing with Jews, Novellae, the term

"Hebraios" instead of the traditionally used Ioudaios (by Theodosius and his precursors). This usage in legal literature made it, in a certain measure, a pragmatic appellation, in certain countries associated with the Byzantine Empire, or the Eastern Orthodox Church. Through these vehicles it survives with us today in Italy Greece, Cyprus, and Russia.

Unlike the other two appellations, "Hebrew" is not attested to in any of the abundant archeological discoveries of the twentieth century, nor was it ever used on coins minted by the Hasmonean kings and the authorities of the First and Second Jewish Revolts. Its usage in all phases of its existence was, therefore, very restricted to specific meanings and was never meant to be an ethnic appellation.

Ioudaios-יְהוּדִי -Jew

The usage of this term is, in contradistinction to "Hebraios," of a locative nature, i.e., for the designation of a man originating from Judaea. It is, therefore, a pragmatic name of the people who lived in that region. Their designation as יְהוּדִי --or in the Aramaic form, Yehudain, starts in the reign of King Nebuchadnezzar. The Elephantine Papyri, the records in the Book of Ezra, the memoirs of Nehemiah, all attest to its usage as a political identification in the Persian period. However, the Greek world knew little of the small people of Yehud, and only in the post-Alexandrian period, did the Greek writers, travelers, and historians start to identify the residents of Judaea as Ioudaiot.

The Hellenistic kings, both Ptolemies and Seleucids, in their legislation and correspondence, used the term Ioudaioi, or "ethnos tōn Ioudaion" (the nation of the Judaeans), and thus it entered the geopolitical vocabulary of the Hellenistic world. The Jews themselves used it in their literature in a very restrictive manner. They never substituted it for the national name "Israel" but used it in literature only to report or record events in which a Jew played part, mostly, as a quote of what a non-Jew (at all levels: dignitaries or commoners) said about Jews. It can therefore be seen, even when it appears in its Hebrew or Aramaic form, as an expression of external usage.

Some of the Hasmonean kings, under the influence of the Hellenistic spirit of the era, used the word יְהוּדִים on their coins as an expression of the sovereignty of the nation of the Judaeans.

The Romans became acquainted with this appellation already in the epoch of the Maccabean revolt, through Judah's epistles to the Roman senate. They continued to use it from that time. The appellation Ioudaios and Judaeus, both originally pointing to the locative quality of that name, gradually acquired another meaning. With the increased dispersion of the Jews, those residing in the Diaspora, centuries after they came from Judaea, were still designated by that name. The peoples of the Oikoumenē had noticed that these "strange" residents among them observed strictly a cult dedicated not to the local city-Gods but to the temple of Jerusalem in Judaea;

"Ioudaios" expressed, therefore, a double quality: both a man whose ancestors originated in Judaea and--on the cultic plane--one who observed the cult of the Judaeans, later--the religion called Judaism.

The Jewish wars against the Romans were the first stage in the course of transition, which the appellation Ioudaios underwent from its respectable status during the Hasmonean period to its final disrespect in the sixth century. Additional stages were the anti-Jewish propaganda against the Jews, conducted by the Christian apologists, and later sharply accentuated by the Church Fathers in the fourth century. The acrimonious homilies of St. John Chrysostom, the comparison of Jews to wild beasts,⁵ the bluntly expressed hatred by Jerome of the Jews, the equation of the synagogue to "the house of Satan" and the congregants as "possessed by the demon"--had all achieved what the Church Fathers aimed at: the debasement of the image of the Jew, his isolation from Christian society, the effacing of his human face and turning him into a demonic figure. The appellation Ioudaios became an opprobrium. The Jews, as a hardly tolerated minority in a hostile Christian world, thus entered the era of the Middle Ages with an appellation difficult to bear. They had no choice. It was shaped and cornered to such a meaning by a hostile Church. In their own midst they identified themselves by their own internal name, "Israel."

⁵Gregory of Nyssa, St. Leo the Great.

The Appellation Israel

The clearest expression of what "Israel" meant to all Jews in the Oikoumenē on the eve of 70 A.D. events, is given by Philo. He sees in Israel the "genous" which "the Father and King of the Universe and the Source of all Things has taken as his portion." (Ad Gaium, 3-4) In this high appraisal he does not differ either from the Deuteronomist, the Prophets, Ezra and Ben Sira, nor from the Rabbis that followed him, R. Johanan ben Zakkai and Rabbi Akiba (Ashreikhem Israel --Blessed art thou Israel!").

The name "Israel" is so profuse in the writings of the Jews in all their languages that it would be superfluous to repeat all its implications. From a concept of God's own chosen people as presented by the prophets, its meaning changed--under the impact of external geopolitical events such as exiles, domination by foreign rule, religious oppression--to express the coherence of the people, the adherence to the traditional values, despite pressure from new rulers and their cults. "Israel" became the antithesis of "Hellas" and its representative in the East, Hellenism.

In the era of the Second Commonwealth, with the expansion of the Jewish Diaspora to all corners of the Oikoumenē, the term Israel gradually acquired the meaning of a Politeia, a trans-territorial union of the believers in the God of Israel, uniting its two constituents: the Judaeans and the Diaspora. In Judaea, a man's identification within his community was ^לישראל, Israel[ite], while the neighbors identified him as

Ioudaios. It was the same in the Diaspora. What, then is the meaning of the term Israelitēs used by Jesus (John 1:48) speaking of Nathanel as a "true Israelite"? What does Peter express in addressing a gathering of Jerusalemites as "Israelitēs"? (Acts 2:22, 3:12) What does Gamaliel the Pharisaic head of the Sanhedrin express by this term? (Acts 3:36) And what is expressed by the passionate appeal of Jews who try to seize Paul in the Temple court to the present: "Men Israelites help!" (Acts 21:28) No doubt all these appellations are used in circumstances in which the addressor makes an appeal to the compassion of his listeners. So far, the cases cited happened in Judaea. But Paul addressed a congregation of Jews in the synagogue of Antioch in Psidia the same way: "Israelitēs and all you who fear God. . . ." (Acts 13:16) This proves that "Israelitēs" was a term used to evoke compassion for members of the Politeia of Israel. "Israelites" designates a compatriot, not of a land, but of the spiritual trans-territorial Commonwealth of Israel. In this respect it is parallel to what "Hellas" and Hellenism represented for the Hellenistic Oikoumene.

Despite the testimony in the above usage of Paul, we do not find a single Greek or Latin-writing Pagan author who heard about such a concept, not to speak of the practical appellation of "Israelite." Even after the Gospels were propagated, no pagan writer addressed himself to this term except Julian the Apostate in the middle of the fourth century--and

even when he did so, it is only in relating to the Biblical history of the Jews.

The Church, being an offspring of "Old Israel," cherished the same values but dressed them in a new garb. When the complete breakaway occurred in the last decades of the first century C.E., the Church theologians, guided by Paul's doctrine that "Old Israel" was the "branches broken off" from the "True Israel" in the guise of the young Church, engaged in a bitter dialogue and polemic with rabbinical Judaism on the question who is the "True Israel" after the advent of Jesus. The Christian apologists maintained that the Jews lost the right to this name, and that the real Israel was represented by the young Church. This argument went on in an uninterrupted chain of apologetical writings and oral preachings at the Church pulpits. The aim was--in addition to the debasing of the appellation *Ioudaios*--also to disown Judaism from its fundamental values, the moral and spiritual concept of Israel. Although the Church Fathers may have believed that they had successfully proven their point in case, it had no practical impact on the pragmatic aspect of life. This was, in the Christian sector, a purely dogmatic concept. In the Jewish sector, it never was a pragmatical appellation. It was used only as an internal term in Talmudic legislation and, eventually, in community regulations. But in practical life, the Jew was by force of the exterior geopolitical conditions called *Ioudaios*. The emotional sentiment of the Jews for the appellation Israel is proven by political acts. Coins

from both Jewish Revolts are dedicated to the "Freedom or Redemption of Israel". In the final agony of the Jewish independence, Bar Kokhba called himself Nasi of Israel.

Two Church Fathers of the fourth century implied in their writings, that the Jews in Palestine were in their generation called Israelites, a claim difficult to support from all reviewed sources. One of them was St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who so stated in one of his orations, in the fourth century--a claim we have analyzed and disagreed. St. Augustine, who would imply the same, but making his usage as a theologian (not as a witness, as was St. Cyril), used the expression Israelites to express his compassion for the suffering Jews.

A few words about the pattern of development of the appellations. Our graphic presentation of their life span in the Jewish, pagan and Christian sectors demonstrates the cyclic nature of the course they ran. Within each cycle, the formative, static, extinctive and possible revival phases are very distinct. They are a function of critical historical events in each sector and their existence is hardly coextensive in any two of them. The cessation of one appellation in sector "A" may coincide with the beginning of another in sector "B". By the same token, they are also subject to revival or injection of new meanings as a result of doctrines or pronouncements by national and religious leaders. It is these two factors, historical causes and human doctrines, that were the prime movers in the determination of the viability of a given appellation and its meaning in a certain historical period and a particular sector.

EPILOGUE

THE CHURCH FATHERS' IMPACT ON THE APPELLATIONS
OF THE JEWS IN MODERN TIMES

We started out by posing questions in our Preface relating to certain usages of the appellations "Hebrew," "Jew," and "Israelite," in our lifetime, in various languages and countries. The study of the sources from the Bible to Justinian's time provides the answers to the course of evolution each appellation had run from Antiquity to our own times. For, though the foundations of these courses have been solidly laid in the period extending from Alexander to Justinian, the crystallized formulas and concepts of the three appellations transcended into the medieval and modern world unchanged in their meanings. The Jews themselves, the subject of these appellations, lived as a tolerated religious group in the midst of Christian societies, and had no say in this matter. It was Christian society that determined the meaning of the appellations of the Jews, and the latter, in calling themselves or their institutions by names pointing to their ethnic character, had no choice but to follow suit and adopt the name to make it sound "good" to the ears of their neighbors.

The greatest paradox in the usage of these appellations lies in that of "Hebrew" (in an ethnic meaning, not as

an adjective of the language). Analysis of the literary sources shows that the Jews never claimed to belong to a nation called "Hebrews"; their Psalmist never chanted of, their prophets never glorified, and the Rabbis never praised a nation called "Hebrew." Being an "external usage appellation," it never gained respectability among the Jewish people during its varying political status, whether in its own homeland or in the Diaspora. The emergence of Christianity brought with it the necessity of a technical appellation to distinguish between the Jews who rejected Christ and those who accepted him as Messiah, and this, in order to designate them as an ethnic group beside the gentile converts from among other nations (goyim). Those early Jewish converts gained the respect of the apostles and the non-Jewish sector of the Early Church, for their courageous step in abandoning the obsolete Law, the Old Testament, and in joining the new communities of believers, the Christian ecclesias. The Church Fathers later expanded this amicable usage of "Hebraios" to a religious concept of identification of the pre-Christian Jews and prophets with the progenitors of the Jewish people, the ancient Hebrews. The next step that followed, proclaimed that the Jews (Ioudaioi) of Jesus' time and the stubborn Rabbis of the post-Crucifixion era were the culprits of the blind resistance of the adherents of the Old Testament to convert and follow "the True Way" of the Christian Church. Thus, an image was created of the "bad" Jew-Ioudaios as distinct from the noble "Hebrew." The "bad Jew"

could become a "noble Hebrew" by "crossing the bridge," by joining the Church. The Church Fathers, in search of support among Jewish high personalities after the Prophetic Age, found it worthy to accord a respectable status to some Jews, among them, Philo and Josephus, and even "the Jew Trypho."

In the second century of the Christian era, another phenomenon of usage of "Hebrew-Hebraios" transpired from literary sources; it was that made by Jews hiding their identity from a hostile milieu. The Jew Trypho, in his first meeting with Justin Martyr, identifies himself as a "Hebrew of the circumcision." Those were the times of the post-Hadrianic persecutions.

Let us now return to the term "Hebrew prophets" so often used by Christian scholars in modern times. It is now clear that what they are referring to is not to an ethnic "Hebrew" descent, for the prophets--all of them without exception--praised only Israel and none of them referred to his Hebrew ancestors. In fact, the scholars make usage of a formula coined by the Church Fathers that is based on the latter's concept of the link between the Church and Abraham the Hebrew-Hebraios. Indeed, Clement of Alexandria was the first to coin this term;¹ however, in Antiquity the formula was "the prophets of the Hebrews" associating them to the Church's concept of the "Hebrews" being the people designated by Divinity to prepare the way for the coming of Christ, and not as

¹See Vol. I. p. 239.

the English language formula "the Hebrew prophets" would imply--a link to, or an association with a nation called "Hebrews."² This is not the case. Neither Ezekiel nor Malachi are prophets of a Hebrew nation; for the Jews they are "prophets of Israel," but according to St. Augustine's doctrine, they are the "prophets of the Hebrews."

The sources also indicate that when Jewish individuals felt inconvenient with the meaning which the appellation Ioudaios acquired in public opinion, they resorted to the usage of the other appellation, "Hebraios," which had a more respectable standing among the Gentiles; the same can be said for the Jewish community as a whole during the first six Christian centuries.

Typical of the former group is Josephus in 74 A.D. when the hatred of the Romans against the Jews was at a peak. His describing himself, in addition to his royal Hasmonean descent and a priest, as of "Hebrew descent" (γενεῖ Ἑβραῖος), is simultaneously an action of excuse and pride. One might, in his opinion, be condemned as a Ioudaios but nobody could blame a man who was of such respectable ancestry as were--in the first century admitted to be--the "Hebraioi." The fact of "Hebrew descent" is also emphasized by St. Paul, who identified himself with the superlative "a Hebrew of the Hebrews"

²The difference between the two concepts is expressed by the Church's parallel definition of Israel: (1) Israel in flesh; (2) Israel in spirit. For the Church "Hebrews" were only a vehicle for the transfer of Christianity to posterior generations and not a nation with instruments of material government.

(Ἑβραῖος ἢ Ἑβραῖον) (Phil. 3:5). This mode of identification of Jews who severed their ties with the Jewish faith or nation seems quite obvious even to an eminent Jewish scholar such as Solomon Zeitlin, who in the twentieth century identifies Paul as a Hebrew.³

The other group, those who accepted the appellation as a necessity caused by changing political circumstances, are represented both by the type of identification of the Jew Trypho and by the formulation of Justinian's Novellae. In the latter case, it was, to be sure, an imposed appellation by a non-Jewish authority, and, therefore, an "external usage appellation," but it was gladly accepted by Jews as a welcome substitute for the pejorative denigrating meaning of Ioudaios in their time.

From Justinian to the French Revolution the Jews, as said before, lived as a tolerated religious minority among their neighbors. As a nation, their history was in a dormant state. When the emancipation movement of the Jews took shape in newly organized communities in Western Europe, a new appellation was looked for by them to sound "better" than Juif Jude, Juif or Jüdisch; the term "Israelite" was picked up by the Jewish leaders. Here again, it had seemingly to do with a romantic tendency to pass over the dark ages of Jewish history since the debacle in 70 A.D. and link the new community

³See The Rise and Fall, op. cit., Vol. I, Intro., p. xv: "Even Paul who was born in the Diaspora was a Hebrew." Would Prof. Zeitlin identify himself as a Hebrew? Would he so identify Maimonides, Spinoza, Moses Mendelssohn, Heinrich Heine, Karl Marx?

directly to the ideals of Israel in their prophetic and territorial concept. This designation was, no doubt, pleasing to the Church in the Emancipation period. If the attitude towards the Jews was to be one of forgiveness and compassion for their long oppression and sufferings, what better term could express it than--again--St. Augustine's compassionate feeling for the "Israelites"?⁴

In later periods, when the European Jews moved to settle in the New World, the problem of their appellation among the non-Jewish people and of their own institutions gained an actual dimension. The Jew had no influence over his designation by others. The "external usage" appellation of "Jew" and "Jewish" was unavoidably transferred from old mother Europe to the New World. But the Jews were the masters of their own institutions, and those they could call by a more respectable name, by an appellation which has gained high respect in the Christian Church: the adjective "Hebrew" from the ancient Greek term "Hebraios." Thus "Jewish" was dropped in favor of the Jewish-formed adjective "Hebrew," based on the Christian Church's scale of values. Names of Jewish-American organizations which have the component "Hebrew" in their formula are definitely a product of that sort of thinking by their Jewish leaders.

The trend of naming Jewish institutions by designating them as "Hebrew" and not "Jewish" had its impact on the

⁴See comment on pp. 54, 59 Chap. Five, and note 67.

new National Renaissance movement of the Jews in the early twentieth century. The first phase of the movement was romantic; the oppressed Jews in Europe were homesick for Zion, as were those who by the rivers of Babylon (Ps. 137:1) wept when they "remembered Zion," and therefore nostalgically named their movement "Hibbat Zion" (Love of Zion), and the "Zion[ist] Congress"--the organ of expression of their national movement. However, the "real-politisch" work of Theodor Herzl used the realistic name of the Jews in the platform of planning the reestablishment of the Jewish State, and called his pragmatism book Der Judenstaat. So did his predecessor, the Jewish real-politiker Nehemiah 2350 years before him, when he called his people "Yehudim" although his contemporary Ezra called them "Israel." That the British Government in the Balfour Declaration in 1917 used the appellation "Jewish" in the formula "to establish a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine," is quite understandable. The Jewish institutions in Great Britain called themselves traditionally not "Hebrew" but "Jewish." Not so was the case with the vanguard of the National Renaissance movement of the Jews in Palestine. They--inspired as the earlier Romantic movement in the 1890s--were still dominated by the nostalgia for the past and for an unknown reason abandoned the term "Zion" and an adjective "Zion[ite]" or "Zionist" in favor of the other ancient designation of a glorious past, עִבְרִי, 'Ibri, in its adjective form. Their motives were, no doubt, similar to those of the European Jews in the Emancipation

period and of the Jewish immigrants in the New World: to throw a bridgehead over the wide and deep river of Jewish history of suffering, to the "ancient glorious past"--this time a Jewish independent state with its independent attributes and organs. The scale of values of the Christian Church was unconsciously and mistakenly adopted in this case again by the reconstructors of a Jewish nation. The sources--as we pointed out in the beginning of this summary--point to a total disregard for the term "יְהוּדִי"-Ibri by the Prophets, Ezra, Ben-Sira, Philo, the Talmud and Midrash. The Church Fathers, by denigrating the appellation Ioudaios, countered with adoration of the ancient Hebrews; their adoration of the latter was, however, not as a nation; for they never attributed to "Hebrews" qualities of nationhood. For them it was the uninterrupted time between Jesus and Abraham the "Hebrew," whose descendant, Paul, boasted to be (2 Cor. 22), and after him, all Christian theologians. This thesis was clearly initiated by Eusebius⁵ and subsequently developed and given definite shape by St. Augustine at the beginning of the fifth century (ca. 412) in his work The City of God.⁶

The great dormant period in Jewish history from Justinian to Napoleon made the Jews forget the meaning of the ancient appellation יְהוּדִי-Ibri-Hebraios; when the shapers of

⁵See full quote, p. 25, supra. Eusebius says that the Christians are not "newcomers among the nations. . ." They are linked to the Hebrews of antiquity; Abraham, the originator and ancestor of the Hebrews was a "Christian in fact."

⁶See pp. 14, 15, and note 16, Chapt. V; also p. 53.

names for new nationalistic institutions were moved by romantic motives, they overlooked the low status of the concept "Hebrew" in their own literature and history and were quick to adopt the adjective "Hebrew" as the opposite of the negative image the appellation "Jew" represented in their eyes. This image they were now bent to transform and reconstruct in the image of their ancestors. The ideal of returning from a "parasitic" life to creative labor was termed "avodah ivrith" ("Hebrew labor"). In their appraisal of the negative image of the contemporary Jew, they stood on common ground with the Christian Church, which, for different reasons and considerations, maintained the same concept for nineteen centuries. They chose, however, an appellation which was--as we have classified them in our Introduction--an "external usage appellation." For it was Justinian, by his introduction of the term "Hebraios" into the Novellae in 553, who caused the transcendence of the concept "Hebrew" as being the "better Jew", from the peoples of the Empire to those of medieval society. His selection was, however, a direct result of his own hostile and pejorative attitude to the appellation Ioudaios. It fell on the fertile ground prepared in advance by the anti-Ioudaios writings of the Church Fathers and was compatible with their criterion. In the search for a link to their past, the Jews emotionally chose the appellation "Hebrew" to name certain institutions.

As we have pointed out in our study, it took great national crisis or events to cause a change in the appella-

tions of the Jewish people (internal usage). We have pointed to the Exodus and Moses, Ezra's reforms, the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, and R. Johanan ben Zakkai. The transition from Hebrew to Israel and from יהודי -Yehudi to a new meaning of Israel was made by these leaders. When in another critical moment of rebirth as a state or disappearing from the political world map came, David ben Gurion, the builder of the new nation, made a new choice. In search of a name for the reborn nation, he turned his eyes to his ancestors, but he found common ground, not with the Church Fathers from Paul to Jerome, but with Ezra, Philo, Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai and his followers. He identified his people with Israel and so called their nation and land.

¹As reported in the Tel Aviv Hebrew Daily "Haaretz" of May 14, 1948, Ben-Gurion had his final say in the selection of the name of the new State. The other suggestions were all variants which contained the words "Zion", "Hebrew", or "Jewish". They were all rejected by him, in favor of "Israel".

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THE APPELLATIONS OF THE JEWS AS A FUNCTION OF INTERPRETATION OF THE JEWISH HISTORY BY THE CHURCH AND THE JEWS.

THE CHURCH FATHERS:

THE JEWS:

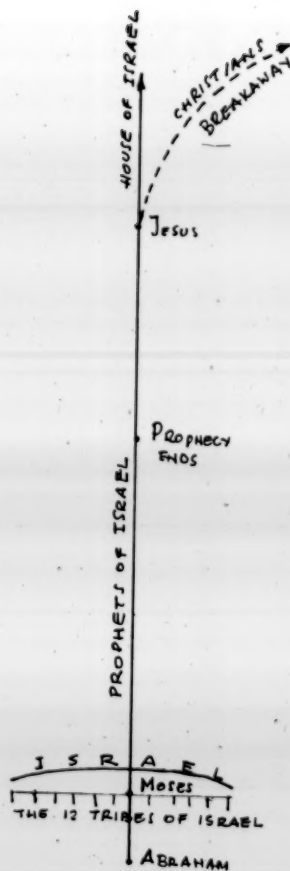
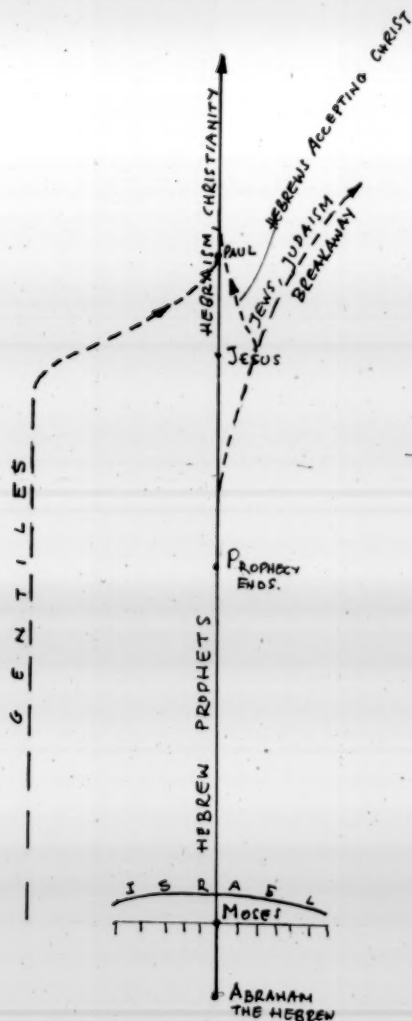


Table of Greek and Latin
from 5th Century
Based on Th
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1.	2.	3.	4.	CENTURIES B.C.				
NAME	AUTHOR'S AREA OF WRITING	REINACHÉ TEXT NO	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
1. Herodotus	Historian	1						
2. Choerilus	Athenian tragic poet	3						
3. Theophrastus	Peripatetic Philosopher	5, 6						
4. Clearchus	Aristotle's disciple	7, 98						
5. Megasthenes	Historian	8						
6. Hecataeus of Abdera	Historian & Philosopher	9, 81, 125						
7. Manetho	Egyptian Priest & Historian	11						
8. Pythagoras	Pre-Socratic Philosopher	14, 83						
9. Agatharchides	Geographer & Historian	16						
10. Polybius of Megalae	Historian of the Roman wars	17						
11. Posidonius of Apamea	Stoic Philosopher	25						
12. Apollonius son of Molon	Rhetorician	26						
13. Alexander Polyhistor	Historian	28						
14. Diodorus Siculus	Historian	33, 34						
15. Nicolas of Damascus		39-43						
16. Strabo	Geographer & Historian	48-53						
17. Apian	Grammatician	62, 63						
18. Plutarch	Historian	66-74						
19. Appian of Alexandria	Historian	75-77						
20. Arrian of Nicomedia	" & Philosopher	78						
21. Charax of Pergas	Philosopher, Priest	82						
22. Antonius Diogenes	Romancist	83						
23. Lucian	Poet & Satyrist	84						
24. Celsus	Platonic Philosopher, Pagan	88						
25. Pausanias, Periergetes	Geographer	90-94						
26. Philostratus	Philosopher, Sophist	96-97						
27. Dio-Cassius	Roman Historian & Adm'n	99-113						
28. Porphyry	Hist'n, Phil'r Grammarian	116						
29. Julian	Emperor, (Apostate)	118						
30. Damascus	Philosopher	120						
31. Procopius	Historian of Justinian	Loeb Class. Lib						

of Greek and Latin Authors' Appellation of Jews
 from 5th Century B.C. through 5th Century A.D.
 Based on Theodor Reinach's Texts

I. Greek Authors

4.			5.						6.						REMARKS
CENTURIES B.C.			CENTURIES A.D.						APPELLATION USED:						
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Quoting Aristotle

Fiercely attacked by Josephus.
B.C. 582-507. Only quoted by (22) d(23)

203-120. Contemporary of the Maccab. Revolt

Anti Jewish writings
relating to Moses' birth!
Historian of Pompey.
Historian of Herod the Great.
60 B.C. - 20 A.D.

A.D. 46-120. Contemp. of destr. Jer. Temple
Historian of Trajan

Aggressive antagonist of Christianity
Flourished in the last quarter of 2nd Cent.

Ca. A.D. 115-235,
Pagan, a native of Tyre. 233-244
Emperor 361-363. Manifest to the Jews.

Hebraios, only in reference to ancient Jews.

Table of Greek and Latin
from 5th Century B.
Based on The

II. Lat									
1.	2.	3.	4. (B.C.)	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st	
NAME	AUTHOR'S AREA OF WRITG	REINACHT TEXT NO							
1 Cicero	Roman orator & author	126, 127							•
2 Augustus	Emperor	130							
3 Horace	Latin poet	131							•
4 Ovid	135-139	134							
5 Seneca	Philosopher	145							
6 Trogus Pompeius	Historian, (Augustan)	135-39							
7 Pliny Secundus	Historian	150, 160							
8 Martial	Poet	166							
9 Juvenal	Roman satirical poet	170-71							
10 Tacitus	Historian	175							
11 "	"	180							
12 Hadrian	Emperor	182							
13 Suetonius	Biographer of Hadrian	183, 90							
14 Rutilius Namatianus	Poet								
15 Historiae Augustae	Biographies	198-206							

of Greek and Latin Authors' Appellation of Jews
 from 5th Century B.C. through 5th Century A.D.
 Based on Theodor Reinach's Texts

II. Latin Authors										C.					RE M
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REMARKS.

Chief of Staff to Titus, Jerusalem, A.D. 70
Patronized by Titus, Domitian and Pliny.
Famous for epigrammatical sayings
See in particular Text 177, on Jews & Christ's
3 variants given.

A.D. 117 through	284
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THE APPELLATIONS

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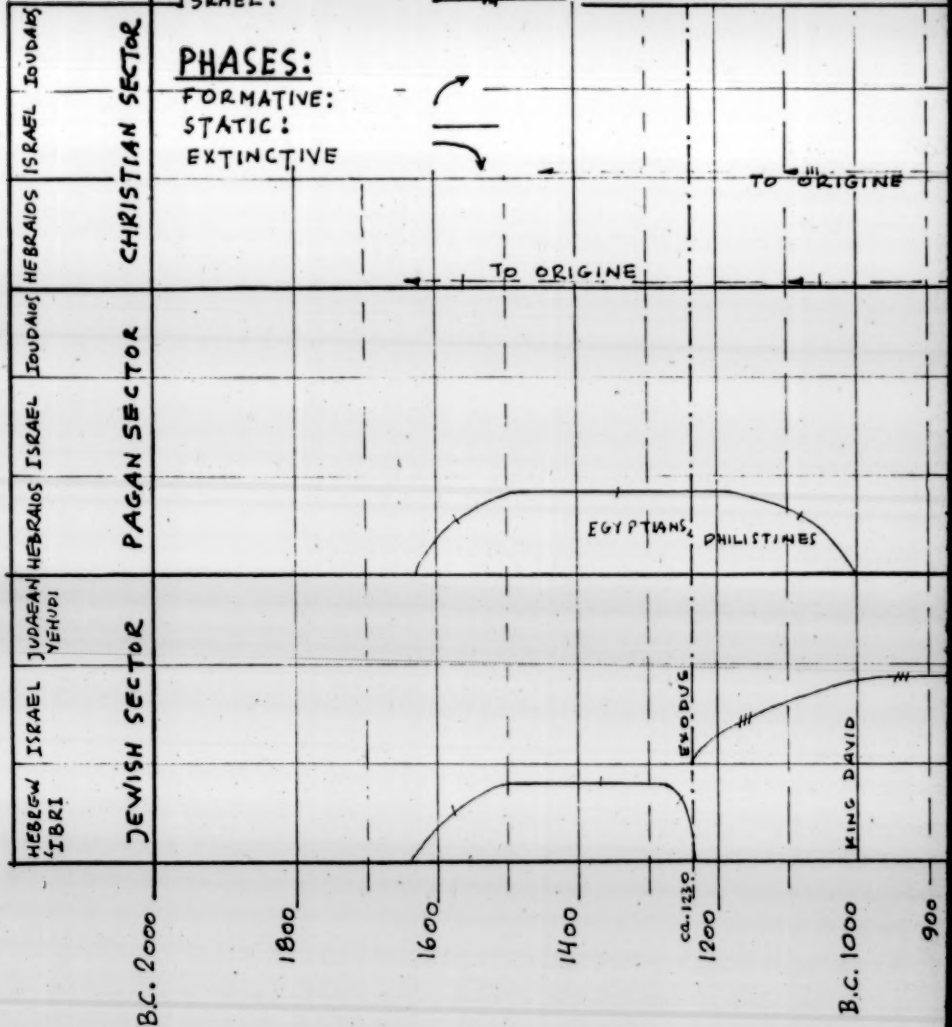
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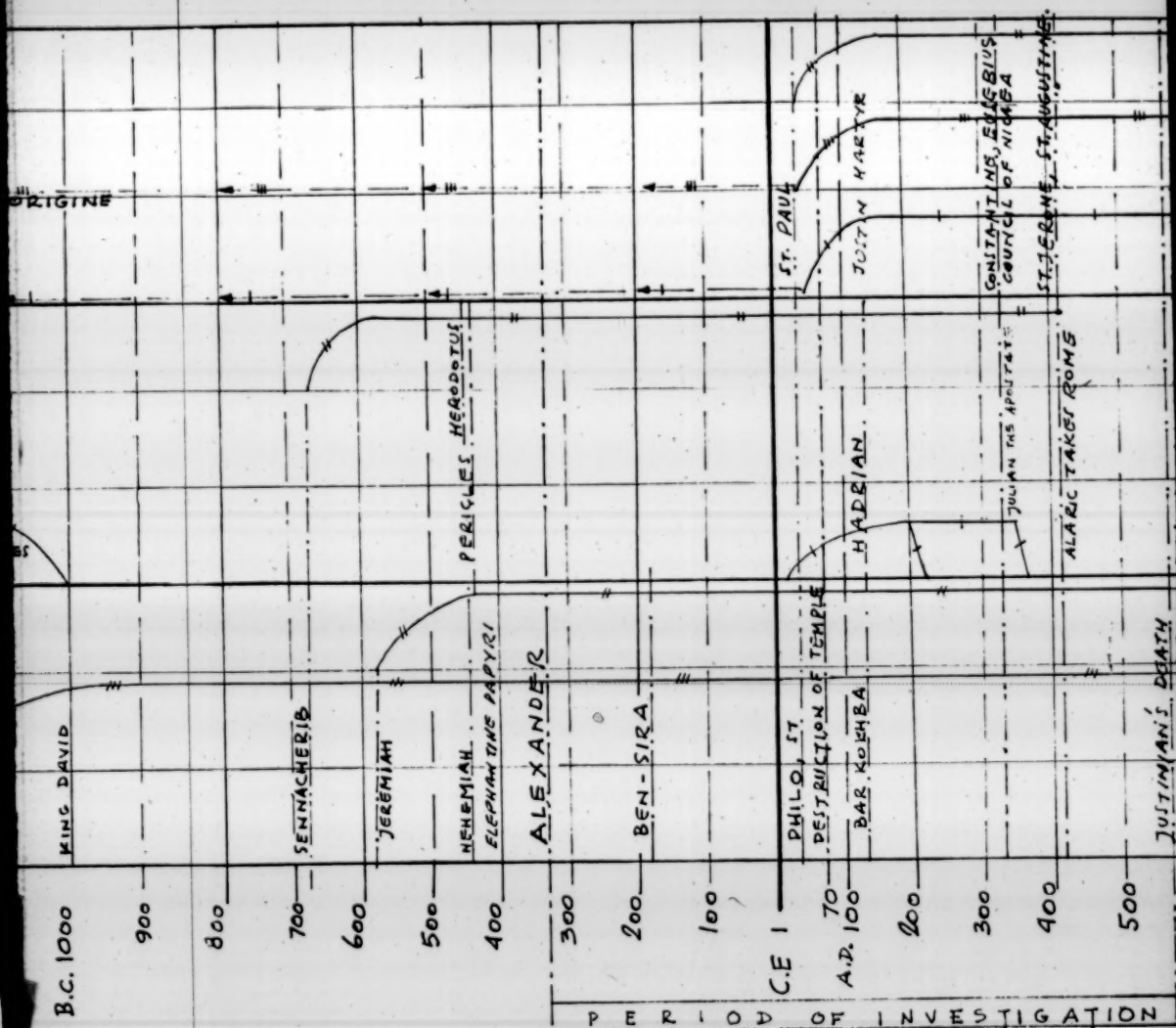
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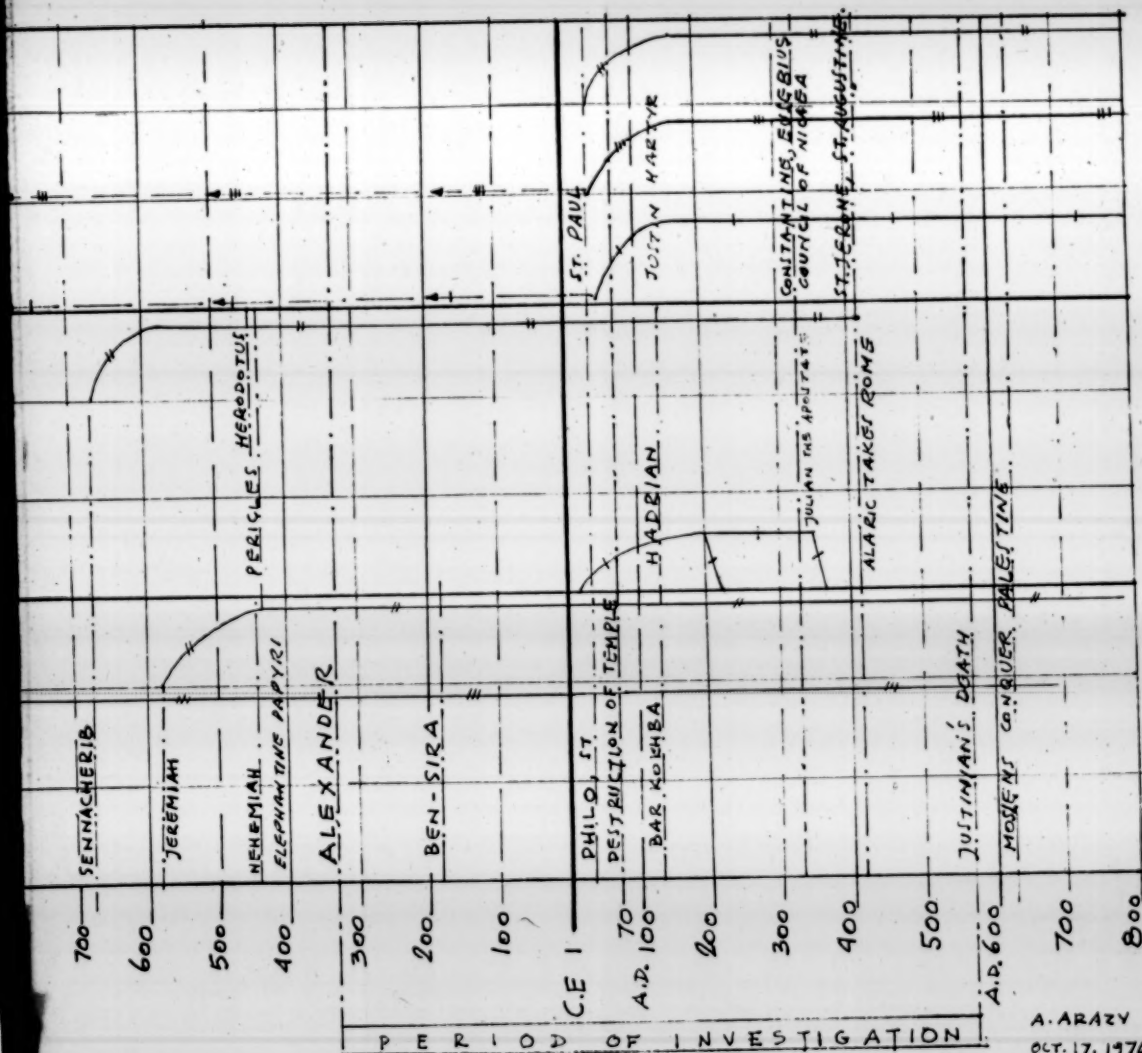
ORIGINE OF THE JEWS.

HISTORICAL PERIODS AND PHASES OF USAGE.



THE JEWS.

PERIODS AND PHASES OF USAGE.



A. ARARY
OCT. 17, 1976